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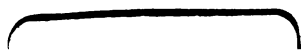
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THE
LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

BEING
A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS INCLUDED
IN MR. WATSON'S SELECTION

WITH HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES



BY THE
REV. G. E. JEANS, M.A.

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ASSISTANT MASTER IN HAILESBURY COLLEGE

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.

1880

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PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY

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Ms. A. 9. 11. 40 V. A.

TO

T. C. BARING, ESQ., M.A.,

M. P. FOR SOUTH ESSEX,

The Munificent Benefactor of Hertford College:


WHOSE LIBERALITY

HAS GIVEN TO A COLLEGE OF ANCIENT NAME

THE PROSPECT OF A USEFUL AND DISTINGUISHED FUTURE.

PREFACE.

I HAVE attempted the somewhat difficult task of steering a middle course between a critical translation of Cicero's Letters for the scholar, and a Life of Cicero, told mainly by himself, for the English reader, and perhaps the long time which this work has required has caused some inconsistency of method. That a new translation was really needed seems to me beyond a doubt. The swelling paraphrase of Melmoth, the laboured dullness of Heberden, and the almost unknown version of Guthrie, are all that, so far as I am aware, exist in English; while the French rendering by the Abbé Mongault glides indeed with French neatness round every difficulty, but never surmounts one. And yet so frequent are these difficulties, that even when following in the track of so careful and scholarly an editor as Mr. Watson, I have constantly been obliged to support my own version with a minute critical discussion of the text or its renderings, which to an English reader must, I fear, be intolerably dull. Neither is there such a Life of Cicero told by means of his Letters as I have here contemplated. Dr. Merivale's translation of Abeken's 'Cicero in seinen Briefen' is indeed a most useful work, to which I have



constantly referred, but in it the whole or any large part of a letter is seldom given, and an English reader would gain but little idea from it of the style of Cicero. My object has rather been to make the correspondence the principal part, connected together by just so much of the intervening history as to form an intelligible continuous narrative of Cicero's life.

And to almost any reasonable narrative of Cicero's life I should attach the highest value. There is no other classical work to be compared to his Letters for teaching that the Romans were real living men and women, and not mere paper characters, or schoolmasters' puppets. The time in which he lived too, was to us almost the central time of the world's history; and there were giants on the earth in those days. And though most people will agree with the able reviewer in the *Quarterly*¹ that Mr. Froude in his brilliant but erratic *Life of Caesar* has strained the parallel of Cicero's age with our own beyond the truth, yet the resemblance is at once plausible and penetrating, and gives to the story of this age an interest and value not resting entirely on the skill of the narrator.

But Cicero must be used only with caution and knowledge as a historian. When Mr. Forsyth², for example, describes the tortures of Trebonius, or states that 'twenty thousand of the noblest youths in Rome testified their attachment for him by changing their dress,' because Cicero does so in a speech or a letter, he very justly exposes

¹ *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1879.

² Forsyth, pp. 496, 181; compare Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, p. 70.

himself to the sarcasms of Mr. Beesly. But though few would commit themselves so far as this, it is much too confidently asserted that we have always a genuine record of Cicero's feelings. We are told for example in another interesting review of Mr. Froude's book that 'the modern world is Cicero's valet. Every trait of personal vanity, every passing impulse of self-interest, every momentary vacillation of purpose, is laid bare before us, to be studied with the same leisurely attention which we devote to Caesar's narrative³.' Now this could never be applicable to any but private letters, written without the least thought of publication. A broad line must thus be drawn between most of the letters to Atticus, and most of the letters to less intimate friends. The long letter to Lentulus (No. xxix) is in no sense a private document any more than the manifesto of Lepidus (No. cxliv), and its value is almost lost unless it is closely compared with Letter xxv. We know from Cicero himself that he intended to revise and edit a collection of his own letters, which was then in the hands of Tiro (*Ad Att.* xvi. 5). And even on the doubtful theory that this did not include any of the correspondence with Atticus, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that Cicero should not have known that Atticus was preserving his letters for publication (*Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus*, 16). This does not make the letters one whit less valuable, probably indeed it makes them far more valuable, but it entirely alters the light in which they should be regarded.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1879; compare Forsyth, p. 54.

And therefore I have endeavoured to connect these letters together by a brief narrative involving as little as possible of doubtful theory, or of any particular view as to the character of Cicero or Caesar. It will no doubt be obvious from this narrative that I hold the downfall of the Roman Senate and the triumph of Caesar to be an immense step forward in the history of the world, but Mr. Watson and Mr. Froude have surely shown already, that it is quite possible for one who accepts this view to respect the character and ability of Cicero, without feeling it necessary to screen or gloss over all his graver lapses. The constant references given here to his most accessible biographers—Forsyth and Abeken, as well as Merivale and Mommsen—will put any one who refers to them in possession of various sides of each question. I have also added references here and there to Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic*, Froude's *Caesar*, Boissier's '*Cicéron et ses Amis*,' and various articles in Dr. Smith's *Dictionaries of Biography and Geography*.

Mr. Watson's selection has now so thoroughly established itself that a choice of it in preference to any other needs no justification, unless I was prepared to attempt the whole collection of Letters. I should myself have preferred a somewhat larger admixture of Cicero's private correspondence, such as would make Letter LIII, for example, seem less of an excrescence than it does now, but for the political history of the time it is as nearly complete as possible. Of editions I have used principally, of course, Mr. Watson's, to which I owe obligations on almost every line of my work. The more I know his edition the more

I appreciate its thoroughness and skill in disentangling the twisted threads of Roman political history. Boot's *Letters to Atticus* (Amsterdam, 1875) is a very valuable piece of work by a Dutch professor, which is fortunately getting better known in England. I have also consulted throughout all the English editions of with which I am acquainted, but few of them will be found of much value with two exceptions. The first of these is Mr. Pretor's Book I of the *Letters to Atticus*, one of the most brilliant little editions of a classic existing in English. It coincides with this selection in five letters only, but these are among the most difficult of all. It is greatly to be wished that Mr. Pretor would continue this work. The other is Professor Tyrrell's promised edition of all the *Letters* in chronological order, of which the first instalment, down to the time of Cicero's exile, has been published. The general chorus of praise with which this important edition has been received appears to me to be amply justified, and I much regret that as Part I of my book was already in type when Mr. Tyrrell's appeared I have only been able to make such slight reference to him.

In one way, however, Mr. Tyrrell and his reviewer in the '*Saturday*⁴' have cleared the ground for me. He has pointed out the close analogy of current French phrases amongst us with current Greek phrases among the Romans. I have long held that a translator should render Greek phrases by some foreign language—not necessarily, but of course usually, French—and that to

⁴ *Saturday Review*, Nov. 22, 1879.

do this satisfactorily it must be done throughout. In any other way we may reproduce the author's meaning accurately, but we cannot reproduce the form in which he expresses it. By the kind help of an accomplished French scholar, my former colleague, A. Messervy, Esq., now Rector of the Royal College, Mauritius, I have been enabled to try the experiment, for the first time systematically applied, and am now thoroughly satisfied with the test. Not only the phrases of ordinary currency, such as γενικῶς, λέσχη, ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, are closely represented by our use of 'en bloc,' 'causerie,' 'en passant,' but even rare or far-fetched ones have generally some modern parallel. The renderings of 'dignitatis ἄλῃς tanquam δρύος,' p. 46, and 'nundinarum πανήγυρις,' p. 20, will illustrate my meaning. Moreover it is quite a mistake to believe that Cicero only used Greek words where Latin failed him. Of this we have a crucial instance in Letter XLVII, where Cicero on one occasion calls the very same proposal χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων καθόδους, which in Letter lxxi he calls *exsulum reditum et tabulas novas*. Another proof, if necessary, is seen in the enormous proportion of Greek words found in the Letters to Atticus. I have not had the patience to count them in all Cicero's letters, but in this selection Greek is used about 200 times, 190 of which are in the Letters to Atticus. Nothing, I think, can be plainer than that this use of Greek was a kind of standing joke between the two friends. Atticus was literally 'doctus sermones utriusque linguae,' being indeed half Greek; Cicero was proud of his Greek, though it was far from perfect, much as an English-

man who travels often is proud of his easy if not always correct French. An almost complete parallel would be the letters of Becky Sharp. Quotations in Greek I have rendered by the nearest parallel I could find in Latin, and it is surprising how few there are which have not some natural Latin equivalent.

This book has been a much longer work than I at first anticipated, but I have received much kind help. Chiefly my warm thanks are due to my friend A. T. Barton, Esq., of Pembroke College, formerly my College tutor, who has given me freely throughout the help of his accomplished and accurate scholarship. If any rendering here is thought to be at once bold and safe, it may with probability be attributed to his suggestions. Mr. Watson has kindly and courteously discussed with me some passages where I have ventured to differ from him. Two of my present colleagues, W. D. Fenning, Esq., and J. D. Whyte, Esq., I have to thank for their assistance, the former in preparing the Introductions, the latter for superintending the French renderings since Mr. Messervy's departure. I must also thank my old pupil, A. C. Clarke, Esq., of Balliol College, Ireland Scholar 1879, for some useful notes on the Fifth Part, and my friend G. A. Macmillan, Esq., for the many suggestions he has given me from time to time.

The edition of Mommsen referred to is that of 1866; of Merivale, that in 8 vols., 1865; of Forsyth, the 3rd, 1869.

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ERRATA.

Page 5, last line but one, *for broker read brother.*

„ 17, note 7, *for Silenus read Silanus.*

„ 50, line 16, *for Jupiter read Mars.*

„ 174, line 16, *for Alba read Albanum.*

„ 193, last line, *dele the before town.*

„ 218, line 17, *after had sailed insert from Brundisium.*

„ 291, heading, *for Sulpicuis read Sulpicius.*

„ 303, line 19, *for brother read son.*

A COMPARISON OF OTHER ENGLISH EDITIONS OF THE LETTERS WITH THE PRESENT ONE.

THIS EDITION.	PARRY.	PRICHARD AND BERNARD.	LONG.
1.....	1		
2.....		3	
3.....	2.....	4	
7.....	3		
8.....	4		
9.....	6		
12.....	9		
13.....	10		
15.....	11		
16.....	14.....	14	
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27.....	25		
29.....	28		
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120			I. 25
121	100		
127	101		II. 16
134			I. 34
135	102		II. 18
138	104		
140	105		
142			I. 29
144	107		
147	110		
148	111		

Letters 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8 are in Mr. Pretor's edition of the First Book of the Letters to Atticus.

Letters 21, 22, 26, 29, 30, 37, and 70 are in Mr. Yonge's edition of the first three books of the Letters 'Ad Familiares.'

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PART I.

THE CONSULSHIP OF CICERO
AND ITS RESULTS.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

PART I.

I. (AD ATT. I. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT HIS ESTATE AT BUTHROTUM
IN EPIRUS.

July, 689 A.V.C. (65 B.C.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero was the son of a Roman knight, at whose estate near Arpinum, in the Volscian hills (the birth-place also of the great Marius), he was born Jan. 3, 106 B.C. He studied philosophy and rhetoric under various teachers, one of whom, Apollonius Molon of Rhodes, is mentioned in Letter ix. His earliest extant speech is that on behalf of Sextius Roscius of Ameria, in 80 B.C.; but his rise into importance as a politician may be said to have begun with his impeachment of Gaius Verres, the infamous pro-praetor of Sicily, ten years later. With Sicily Cicero had already some connection; for in 76 B.C. he was elected one of the quaestors, and obtained by lot the department of Lilybaeum, under his friend Sextus Peducaeus, who is frequently mentioned in these letters, at this time pro-praetor of Sicily. In 67 B.C. Cicero was elected praetor, at the time when Pompeius was at the height of his power, and when Caesar had not yet come to the front as the head of the popular party. On the expiration of this office he refused to leave Rome for a pro-praetorship, that he might stand for the consulship at the earliest opportunity, viz. for 63 B.C.

The present letter is almost entirely taken up with Cicero's prospects of election. It is the earliest we possess, except a few unimportant ones belonging to the three previous years. Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom it (like nearly half of the extant letters) is addressed, was a fellow-student and the life-long friend of Cicero. He was a man of thoroughly cultivated tastes, and apparently half a Greek in habits and sympathies, which is the main reason for the liberal sprinkling of Greek words in the letters addressed to him. He was

also one of the wealthiest men in Rome, and possessed numerous estates abroad, one of which—that near Buthrotum, in Epirus, now Albania—is frequently mentioned. Mr. Watson gives a life of him in Appendix III; and Prof. Tyrrell (Introduct. p. liii) somewhat, and M. Boissier harshly describe his character.

On the early life of Cicero see Forsyth, ch. 1-6; Abeken, pp. 1-42; and on the state of parties at Rome at the period of this letter, Mommsen, iv. 1. 155-168; Merivale, i. ch. 2 and 3; Long, iii. ch. 11; Beesly, Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, pp. 1-19.

- 1 So far as one can guess at present, the prospects of my canvass, in which I know you take the deepest interest, stand much as follows. Only Galba is personally asking for votes: people say no to him, just as their fathers might have done, without any varnish or polite evasions. What the world says is that this over-eagerness of his in beginning to canvass has been far from unfavourable to my book, as when they refuse him a vote it is generally on the ground that I have a right to it. So I have hopes of this doing me considerable service when the news gets spread that my friends are discovered to be the majority. I have thought of beginning canvassing in the Campus Martius at the election of tribunes, that is July 17, the very day on which Cincius tells me your messenger leaves with this letter. My competitors, so far as they seem to be known for certain, are Galba, Antonius, and Cornificius. This is enough, I think, to have made you laugh or sigh. To make you smite the tragic brow then—some people think Caesonius will be one too! We do not imagine that Aquilius will. He stoutly refuses, and has vowed that his bad health and his being such a king at the Bar have made it impossible. Catilina will be certain to stand if the judges decide that day is night¹. You can hardly expect me to be writing about that Aulus Junior² or Palicanus. As to the candidates for this year,

¹ In other words, that black is white, and that Catilina is innocent.

² The phrase 'a son of Aulus' is said to mean a 'terrae filius,' or nobody. But the explanation itself rests on slender authority, and some edd. read *Aufidio* after all the MSS., and this is defended in particular by Prof. Tyrrell.

Caesar is thought to be safe. The struggle is supposed to lie between Thermus and Silanus, and they are so poorly off for friends, as well as for reputation, that I fancy it would not be *infaisable* to run Curius against them. Nobody but myself however takes this view. Apparently it is best for my book that Thermus should be returned with Caesar. No one of the present candidates, if he should have to stand over to my year, would be likely to be a stronger competitor, because he is the commissioner for the Flaminian Road; and as that will be finished by then, I should be very glad to see his name returned as consul now with Caesar³. This is the general idea which up to the present I have formed of those who are in. For my own part, I intend to use the greatest diligence in discharging the whole duty of candidates, and as G  ul seems to carry great weight in the voting, when our law-courts have begun to cool down after term-time I mean to run down next September with a commission to Piso, so as to be back in January. When I have thoroughly satisfied myself as to the intentions of our aristocracy I will let you know. Everything else must, I think, run smoothly if these civilians are my only competitors. Mind, as you are more on the spot, you must succeed in getting me all that set of Pompeius's, as he is a very good friend to me. Tell him I shall not be at all annoyed with him if he should fail to appear at my election.

Well, so much for that matter, and how we stand. But ³ there is something for which I am exceedingly anxious to be sure of your forgiveness. Your uncle Caecilius, who has been done out of a considerable sum of money through Publius Varius, has commenced legal proceedings against his broker Caninius Satyrus for the recovery of the property, which he

³ The MS. reading, which is retained by Mr. Watson, is unintelligible. Mr. Pretor reads 'quae tum erit absoluta. Sane facile et libenter eum cum Caesare consulem factum viderim.' Mr. Tyrrell proposes 'Thermum Caesari consulem accuderim' = 'I would wish to solder together Thermus and Caesar in the consulship.' Fortunately the general sense of the passage is clear.

is accused of having purchased under fraudulent pretences. The other creditors also are parties to the action, including Lucius Lucullus and Publius Scipio, and one Pontius Aquila, who will, they suppose, represent the creditors if the property comes to the hammer. But to be discussing who is to represent them is absurd. Listen now to my point. Caecilius has asked me to hold a brief for him against Satyrus. Hardly a day passes without this man Satyrus coming to my house. It is Domitius whom he honours with the first place, myself with the second in his attentions; and he was exceedingly useful both to my brother and to me at our elections. In fact, I am in a dilemma from my friendship on one hand for Satyrus, and on the other for Domitius, on whom above any one else my chance of being elected mainly rests. This I have explained to Caecilius, at the same time assuring him that if the matter lay simply between him and Satyrus I would certainly oblige him; but as it is, this being a case which concerns all the creditors (particularly as they are men of position, well able to protect the interests of their own body without the help of any one specially retained for Caecilius), it was not unreasonable to expect him to make some allowance too for my feelings and interests. I thought he took this more rudely than one would like, or is usual in good society, and afterwards entirely broke off our acquaintance which had sprung up in the last few days. I beg you will not be angry with me for this, and believe that good feeling made it impossible for me to come forward to blast the whole career of a friend in deep distress, when that friend had strained every nerve to show his regard and zeal for myself. If however you are inclined to be hard on me, you will think it was my election stood in the way. Well, for my part, even granting it to be so, I think I might be forgiven:—

‘*Neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur*’.

‘Aen. xii. 764. Cicero’s quotation is from *Iliad* xxii. 159, of which Vergil’s line is a paraphrase. In other words, ‘the prize (of the consulship) is a noble one.’

In short you see how I have to steer, and to make up my mind not only never to throw away supporters, but to be always adding to them. I hope I have convinced you: at any rate I am really anxious to do so.

Your Hermathena⁵ I am immensely delighted with, and it is so beautifully placed, that all the rest of the gallery seems to be little else but the *cadre* to it. Ever yours.

II. (AD ATT. I. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July, 689 A.V.C. (65 B.C.)

The election of consuls for 65 B.C. resulted in the return of Lucius Julius Caesar, a weak man who was used as a tool by his great relative, and Gaius Marcius Figulus, a more decided member of the senatorial or aristocratical party. On the day of election Cicero's son Marcus, often spoken of in later letters, was born.

After the expressions used in the last letter we are astonished to find Cicero intending to defend Catilina on his trial; though whether he actually did so is uncertain (Watson, Introduction, p. 7). Catilina was acquitted, it is said (but this is of course) through bribery. Compare on this damaging admission of Cicero's, Abeken, p. 39; Beesly, Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, p. 26; Long, iii. p. 199; Forsyth, p. 89.

I must write to tell you that the day which has made 1 Lucius Julius Caesar and Gaius Marcius Figulus consuls¹ has brought me the good fortune of a little son, and that Terentia is doing well.

Not a line from you all this long time! I have already written you long accounts of my prospects. At present I am debating about defending my rival Catilina. We have the very judges we want, and the prosecutor is perfectly willing. If he secures an acquittal I hope he will then be

⁵ A two-faced statue of Hermes and Athena. Such figures seem to have been fashionable at Rome at this time. For the strange phrase 'eius δαδ-θημα' Mr. Tyrrell proposes ἡλίου ἀναμμα = 'a blaze of sunlight.'

¹ That this refers to the day of election, not of entry upon office, is shown by the recorded fact that Catilina was tried in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus. The term 'consul,' though Mr. Forsyth (p. 87) seems not to know it, can be applied to a consul-elect. See e.g. Philippic xiv. 3. 8.

2 more inclined to coalesce with me in my candidature, but if that fails I shall bear it as nothing uncommon. It is essential for me that you should come, and that before long, for there is a very strong idea prevailing that some friends of yours in high position will be jealous of my success. I see that you will be invaluable for gaining me their support. So be at Rome, as you intended, by next January.

III. (AD FAM. V. 7.)

FROM CICERO IN ROME TO POMPEIUS AT HIS HEAD-QUARTERS
IN THE EAST.

Early in 692 A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

Yielding to Cicero's entreaties Atticus came to Rome, and in consequence there is a gap in their correspondence of about three years, including the important one of Cicero's consulship. For the year 63 B.C. Cicero was elected consul at the head of the poll, Gaius Antonius Hybrida, 'an indolent, insignificant man, who willingly lent himself as a tool to the democrats' (Mommsen), obtaining a few votes more than Catilina. In October the Catilinarian conspiracy broke out: five of the principal conspirators, not including Catilina himself, were arrested, and strangled by order of Cicero as consul, after a majority in the Senate had voted for their execution. This proceeding is alluded to by Cicero innumerable times in the following letters. On the legality of the execution see Mr. Watson, App. iv. p. 130; Mommsen, iv. 1. 179; Merivale, i. p. 115; *infra*, p. 35, note on Rabirius; and on the character of the Catilinarian conspiracy see the authorities referred to by Mr. Watson, p. 10.

By the end of 63 B.C. Pompeius had completed the subjugation of the East under the extraordinary powers conferred on him by the act of Gabinus, and announced his successes in an official despatch of a somewhat boastful character to the Senate.

- 1 Allow me to express my best wishes for the continued prosperity of yourself and your army¹.

Like every one else I derived unspeakable pleasure from your official despatch. You have now displayed before our eyes as complete a prospect of peace, as I, merely from my absolute confidence in your abilities, have always held out to other people. I ought to mention however that your

¹ 'It seems to have been the Roman etiquette to use this deferential form of address towards persons in a very high position, towards strangers, and towards women.'—Tyrrell. Notice the brief form of it used in the next letter.

quondam foes, but present friends², are amazingly taken aback at your despatches, and seem quite dumbfounded at having their sanguine hopes thus dashed. As to your letter addressed to myself, though it contained but scanty expression of your regard for me, it was, I assure you, most welcome. Nothing ordinarily gives me so much pleasure as a consciousness of having fulfilled the duties of friendship; and even if sometimes they are not fully responded to, I am well content that the balance of good offices should be on my side. At least, I cannot doubt that if my thorough devotion to you has failed to win your regard, the good of our country will ever draw and keep us close together. Still, not to conceal what I felt was wanting in your letter, I will be frank with you, as my own inclination and our friendship alike require. My achievements have been such that I did expect some recognition of them in your letter, to satisfy the claims not only of our personal intimacy but the cause of the Republic. This, I take it, was omitted by you because you would say there was a risk of wounding some one's feelings. But I assure you that my act for the preservation of our country has been met with a chorus of approval and acknowledgment from the whole world: and when you come, you will find that I acted throughout with such discretion as well as spirit, that you, being a second, if far greater, Scipio, ought not to find it hard to admit me, like a second and not so very inferior Laelius, to be your chosen associate, alike in our public aims and our personal friendship.

IV. (AD FAM. V. 1.)

FROM QUINTUS METELLUS CELER IN CISAIPINE GAUL TO CICERO IN ROME.

Early in 692 A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

It was usual for a consul to address the people from the Rostra on laying down his office. But on Cicero's proposing to do so, one of the new tribunes,

² Probably this refers to the democratic party as a whole, between whom and their political opponents Pompeius all his life played a double game. It may however refer to something of which we have altogether lost the key.

Quintus Metellus Nepos, interposed his veto on the ground that he 'had put Roman citizens to death without trial.' Cicero retorted with an oration entitled 'Metellina.' This produced the following letter of haughty but ill-expressed remonstrance from Quintus Metellus Celer, the brother of Nepos, who was now acting-proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul. Cicero's reply is a masterpiece of defence. Smith's Dict. Biog. ii. p. 1061; Forsyth, p. 125; Tyrrell, Introd. p. 77.

- 1 I trust this will find you in health.

I had certainly supposed that reciprocal regard, as well as our reconciliation, would have secured me from being attacked and ridiculed in my absence, and my brother Metellus from persecution at your hands even against his rights and property for a mere word. Even if he found but little protection in the respect due to him, yet surely the exalted rank of our family, or my own services to your order and to the state, might have proved an adequate defence. I see now that he has been entrapped and I neglected by the very men in whom such
2 conduct was least becoming. The result is that I, the governor of a province, the general of an army, nay, actually engaged in the conduct of a war, am wearing the weeds of sorrow. But since you have thus deliberately acted in defiance alike of equity and the considerate spirit of former times, you must not be surprised if you have cause to rue it. I used to hope that you were not so lightly attached to me and mine; still, for my part, neither the slight to our family nor the injuries any one may inflict upon me shall ever alienate me from the cause of patriotism.

V. (AD FAM. V. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO METELLUS CELER IN CISALPINE GAUL
(IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING LETTER).

Early in 692 A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

- 1 Allow me to express my good wishes for the prosperity of yourself and your army.

Your letter to me says you had supposed that mutual good-feeling and our reconciliation would have secured you

from attack and ridicule on my part. What you mean by this I fail to perceive fully. I suspect however that some one may have informed you how I, when insisting in the Senate that a considerable party still felt some bitterness at my having been the instrument of saving the country, stated that you had consented, at the request of some relations whom you could not well refuse, to suppress the encomiums you had intended to honour me with in the Senate. In saying this, however, I added that you and I had shared the duty of saving the constitution; for while my part was to defend the capital from intrigues at home and intestine treason, yours was to guard Italy from open attack or secret conspiracy; but that this alliance of ours for so great and glorious a work had been strained by your relations, who, though I had been the means of procuring you a most important and distinguished charge, shrank from allowing you to pay me in return even a tribute of regard. As these words involved a confession on my part how much 2 I had expected from your speech and how entirely I was disappointed, my argument seemed to excite a little amusement, and was followed by a certain amount of laughter, not at you, but rather at my own disappointment, and because I was acknowledging so naïvely and openly that I had eagerly looked forward to being eulogised by you. And surely what I said cannot but be considered complimentary to you if amid the fullest recognition of the brilliancy of my achievements I still longed to hear this confirmed from your own lips.

And as to your reference to our 'reciprocal regard,' I know 3 not what you consider reciprocity in friendship. To me it seems to mean that a friendly office is as freely rendered as it is expected. In my own case, were I to affirm that for your sake I had allowed my claim to your province to be passed over, I should only seem to you to be using idle words; the truth being that self-interest enforced this resolution, and every day I reap therefrom additional fruit and satisfaction. What I do affirm is this—that from the moment

I had declined the province in public, I began to cast about how I could best throw it into your hands. As to the balloting between you and the others I say nothing: still I see no reason why you should not make a shrewd guess that nothing whatever which my colleague did therein was without my full cognisance. Look at what followed; at the promptness with which I convoked the Senate that very day when the balloting was over, and the ample terms I must have used in your favour when you yourself told me that my speech not only paid a high compliment to you, but threw your
4 colleagues into the shade. Nay, the very decree of the Senate passed that day is couched in such terms that as long as it remains extant my services to you cannot possibly be ignored. Then, again, I must beg you to recollect how after your departure I spoke about you in the Senate, how I addressed public meetings, and how I corresponded with you; and when you have taken all these things into account, then I must ask you to judge for yourself whether you can say that your late demonstration of coming to Rome was meeting me in a spirit of 'reciprocity.'

5 With reference to what you say about a 'reconciliation' between us, I do not understand why you should speak of reconciliation where there has never been an interruption of
6 friendship. As to your brother Metellus not deserving, as you say, to be exposed to attacks from me and all for a single word, I must ask you first of all to believe that I strongly sympathise with your motives in this, and the kindly feeling shown in your brotherly affection, but secondly to pardon me if for my country's good I have ever opposed your brother; for in patriotism I yield not even to the most ardent of mankind. Nay more, if it prove that I have but been defending my own position against a cruelly unjust attack he himself made upon me, be satisfied if I do not make a personal complaint to you of your brother's injustice to me. For when I had ascertained that he was deliberately gathering the whole weight of his power as tribune in order to

crush me, I applied to your wife¹ and your sister Mucia, whose liking for me, owing to my intimacy with Pompeius, I had often tested, to deter him from the wrong he purposed doing me. In spite of this, as I know you must have heard, 7 on the last day of the year he put upon me—the consul who had saved the Republic—an insult which the vilest citizen in the most beggarly office was never yet exposed to; actually debarring me when laying down my office from the privilege of a farewell address. Yet this insult of his resulted in a signal honour to myself; for as he would make no concession except that I might take the oath, I pronounced the oath aloud in its deepest truth and its noblest meaning, and as loudly the people in answer solemnly attested the truth of my declaration. Yet though I had received this signal affront, 8 on that very day I sent an amicable message to Metellus by our common friends to entreat him to reconsider his attitude towards me. His answer to them was that that was impossible, for not long before he had publicly expressed his opinion that a man who had punished others unheard ought himself to be debarred the privilege of being heard in his turn. How dignified! how patriotic! A punishment inflicted by the Senate, with the approval of every respectable citizen, on those who would have burned Rome, murdered her magistrates and Senate, and fanned the flames of a wide-spreading war, he would have inflicted on one to whom it was granted to deliver the Senate from murder, the capital from fire, and Italy from civil war. And so I withstood your brother to his face, for when speaking against him in the Senate on the 1st of January on our general policy, I took care to let him know that he would find in me a most resolute and determined opponent. Upon the 3rd of January, when he

¹ Claudia, the eldest sister of Clodius. Mr. Munro however (*Criticisms on Catullus*, p. 196) says the three daughters as well as the youngest son Publius called themselves Clodius and Clodia, while the father and his two eldest sons spelt their name in the traditional manner. Mucia, the half-sister of Metellus, was at this date the wife of Pompeius.

opened the debate upon his proposal², about one word out of three in his speech was aimed at me or contained a threat against me. Nothing could possibly be more deliberate than his attempt to effect my ruin by any means whatever, and that not by a fair trial at law, but by a violent and bullying attack. Had I not brought spirit and determination to meet his reckless onslaught, who could fail to believe that the resolution displayed in my consulship was due not to deliberation but to chance³? If you have not hitherto been aware that such was Metellus's attitude towards me, you have a right to think that your brother has suppressed from you some most material circumstances; while if he has taken you into his counsels at all, I deserve the credit of having shown great moderation of temper for not remonstrating with you about this very incident. And if you see now that I was driven into resentment not by a passing word from Metellus, as you describe it, but by his deliberate and bitter animus against myself, let me point out to you my forbearance, if indifference and laxity about resenting so malicious an attack deserves the name of forbearance. Never once did I speak in condemnation of your brother in the Senate at all: whenever attention was called to his conduct I supported without rising what I thought the most moderate proposal. I will add this too, that though after what had passed I had no reason to take any trouble about the matter, I regarded without disfavour, and indeed supported to the best of my humble ability, the proposal for granting a bill of indemnity to my assailant, on the ground that he was your brother.

- 10 Thus you see that what I have done was not to 'attack' your brother, but to repel your brother's attacks. Nor has

² That Pompeius should be recalled to establish order in Italy.

³ Cicero seems to have anticipated some modern criticism. 'It was the humorous trait seldom wanting to a historical tragedy that this act of the most brutal tyranny had to be carried out by the most unstable and timid of all Roman statesmen, and that the "first democratic consul" was selected to destroy the palladium of the ancient freedom of the Roman commonwealth, the right of *provocatio*.' Mommsen, iv. 1. 179.

my attachment to yourself been but light as you say; on the contrary, it has been so strong that my friendship for you remains as ever, though I have had to submit to the loss of your attentions. Even at this very moment, all that I have to say in answer to your (I might almost call it) threatening letter is this: on my own part I not only make allowance for your indignation, but applaud it highly, for my own feelings teach me to remember how strong is the influence of brotherly ties. From you I claim a similar candour in judging of my sense of wrong. If I have been bitterly, cruelly, and unreasonably attacked by one who is dear to you, I claim the admission not only that I was in the right to defend myself, but that I might have called on you—yes, and your army too—to have aided me in so doing. I have ever been desirous of calling you my friend: I have now striven hard to convince you that I have been a true friend to you. To those sentiments I still adhere, and so long as you permit me will continue to retain them. I would far rather forget my resentment against your brother from love for you, than permit that resentment in the smallest degree to impair our mutual regard.

VI. (*AD ATT. I. 13.*)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Jan. 25, 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

On the night when the festival of the 'Good Goddess,' from which all males were rigorously excluded, was being celebrated at Caesar's house¹, Clodius was discovered to have made his entrance, disguised in woman's clothes. In January, 61 B.C., the Senate directed the consuls, Marcus Pupius Piso and Marcus Valerius Messalla, to prepare a bill for bringing Clodius to trial before a special court to be composed of jurymen nominated by the praetor, instead of being selected by lot in the usual way. Of this Piso strongly disapproved. Pompeius, as usual, would not commit himself to a definite approval of the prosecution. Eventually the trial took place in the ordinary way, and Clodius was acquitted by a majority of six. See on this trial Prof. Beesly's article

¹ The date ordinarily given for this is December, 62 B.C. But according to Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 147) the festival was held on May 1, and Prof. Beesly gives reasons for believing that the charge was raked up seven months after, merely for political purposes.

on Clodius (Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, esp. pp. 48-60); Long, iii. ch. 17; Merivale, i. 149-152; Forsyth, ch. 10.

- 1 I have now had three letters from you; one through Marcus Cornelius, which I presume you gave him at the Three Taverns; a second which was forwarded to me by your host at Canusium²; and now this makes the third, which you tell me you wrote on board a rowing-boat, as your ship had already weighed her anchor³. All of them were, as a schoolboy rhetorician would say, not only relieved with polished wit, but distinguished by all the marks of affection. These three letters have certainly been an incentive to me to write back ere this; but the fact is I have got somewhat behindhand, because I cannot find a safe messenger. How few men there are who can carry a letter that is in the least *weighty* without lightening their load by mastering its contents! Another reason is that I do not always [hear of it⁴] at the time anybody is starting for Epirus; for I imagine that having now done due sacrifice before your Amalthea, you have started forthwith to lay siege to Sicyon⁵. And yet I am not quite clear even about the date when you are to go to Antonius⁶, or how much time you propose to give to Epirus, so I am afraid to entrust a somewhat confidential letter to any Greek or
- 2 Epirot people. Since your departure, indeed, events have

² Now Canosa, where Atticus stopped on his way to Brundisium.

³ *De phaselo* has generally been rendered as meaning 'when you were already on board.' But surely *phaselus* cannot be used simply = *navis*. Possibly the 'anchor' is that of the sailing-vessel, which had just started, and Atticus was at the last moment put on board by some boatmen, and gave them a letter to take back to shore. Mr. Tyrrell, after Peerlkamp, reads '*ora soluta*.'

⁴ *Notum* or some such word is essential to the construction, and must have dropped out.

⁵ Atticus called a villa of his in Epirus his '*Amaltheum*,' (Letter viii., *ad fin.*), either, as Mr. Watson says, from its being decorated with pictures from the story of Amalthea, or, as Mr. Pretor prefers, simply from the abundant fertility of the place, in allusion to Amalthea's 'horn of plenty.' Cicero assumes that Atticus has sacrificed like a general at his favourite shrine, before commencing his campaign against his debtors at Sicyon.

⁶ Gaius Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, was now governor of Macedonia.

happened well worth a letter from me, but then it is one which must not be exposed to any such risk as that of being lost, or opened, or intercepted.

To begin with then, let me tell you that I was not asked my opinion first in the Senate, precedence over me being given to the pacificator of Narbonne⁷, though there were murmurs from the house at this proceeding. I myself however am far from displeased, as I am now freed from paying any further attention to a crotchety person, and at liberty to assert my proper position in spite of him; while, after all, the second place in the order of speaking has little less influence than the first, and leaves one's feelings unfettered by any very special obligation to the consul. Third comes Catulus⁸; fourth—if you care to go so far down—Hortensius⁹. As for the consul himself, he is a narrow-minded, ill-conditioned man, a cavilling person of that cross-grained sort that can raise a laugh without any cleverness because he gets laughed at more for his expression than his expressions¹⁰; one who never consults the wishes of his country, and keeps aloof from our constitutional leaders: a man to whom you may safely look never to do the country any good, because he has not got the inclination, nor harm, because he has not got the courage. His colleague¹¹

⁷ The presiding consul was entitled to call on the ex-consuls (after the consuls-elect and the *princeps senatus*) to express their opinions in any order he pleased, but it was usual to keep to the same order all the year. Cicero had probably been called on first during the consulship of Silenus and Murena, in the previous year, and was evidently nettled that Piso now gave precedence to his relative, Gaius Calpurnius Piso, who had just quelled a slight revolt of the Allobroges in Narbonne.

⁸ Quintus Lutatius Catulus, about whose character, as the most upright and honourable of the aristocracy, historians show unusual unanimity. Merivale, i. p. 55; Mommsen, iv. 1. p. 8; Forsyth, p. 156; and Mr. Watson's and Mr. Pretor's notes on this passage.

⁹ Quintus Hortensius, the most famous orator of Rome, until he was surpassed by Cicero.

¹⁰ I am obliged to borrow this rendering from Mr. Pretor. It is worth notice that in the speech on behalf of Plancius (v. 12), Cicero calls this same Piso 'homini nobilissimo, innocentissimo, eloquentissimo.' (!)

¹¹ Marcus Valerius Messalla Niger. Compare Letter vii. § 6.

however is not only most complimentary to me, but a champion, and an enthusiastic one, of his side—and that is the right one.

3 At present the disagreement between them is slight, but I fear this infection when it has once got hold may spread; for of course you have heard that when they were offering a national sacrifice at Caesar's house a man dressed in woman's clothes made his way in. Also that after the Vestal Virgins had performed the sacrifice afresh Quintus Cornificius called the attention of the Senate to the matter;—that he was the first to do so I mention lest you should assume it was any one of my own standing—and that after this the house decided to refer the matter to [the Vestal Virgins and] the Pontifical College, who decided it to be sacrilege;—that hereupon the consuls introduced a bill in accordance with the vote of the Senate; and that Caesar has served a notice of divorce on his wife¹². In this question, Piso, instigated by his friendship for Clodius, is straining every nerve to secure that this measure, though introduced by himself, introduced moreover in accordance with a decree of the Senate, and on a question of sacrilege, shall be thrown out. Messalla so far is strongly in favour of rigorously pressing the matter. Respectable people are being induced by Clodius's entreaties to take no part in the question; and they are getting hired rowdies together. I myself, though I was for Lycurgeoan severity at first, feel my indignation every day subsiding¹³. Cato is as vigorous as ever in hunting him down. To make a long story short, I feel that this scandal, being treated with indifference as it is by our respectable citizens, and backed up by the vicious, may

4 prove a source of much danger to the State. As to that friend of yours (you know whom I mean¹⁴) whose character you described to me as that of one who began to praise only when

¹² This was Caesar's first wife Pompeia. His celebrated saying that 'Caesar's wife must be above suspicion' was in answer to some who argued that the divorce implied an acknowledgment of the guilt of Clodius.

¹³ There is a severe comment on this passage and Abeken's distortion of it in Mr. Pretor's Introduction, p. x.

¹⁴ Pompeius.

he found he could not venture to blame, he is ostensibly very fond of me : he devotes himself to me, loves me like a brother, and is loud in my praises before my face ; in his heart (but still enough to be plain on the surface) he is jealous of me. There is no courtesy, no candour, no highmindedness in the man—*comme politique*—nothing dignified, resolute or generous. But I will write to you of this on a future occasion more in detail ; for at present I have not got fully to the bottom of it, and I cannot venture to trust a letter on matters of such importance to this son of the soil, when goodness knows who he may be.

The praetors have not yet drawn for the provinces. Every- 5 thing is just as it was when you left. That ‘*orientation*’ of Misenum and Puteoli which you say is wanted I will make a point of introducing in my speech¹⁵. I had already noticed that the 3rd of December was an incorrect date¹⁶. The points you select for praise in my speeches I liked already, I warrant you ; but now that my Atticus has approved them I find in them far more of the *sel attique*. To the Reply to Metellus¹⁷ I have made some additions ; a copy shall be sent to you, since your partiality for me has made you such an admirer of rhetoric. Have I anything now to tell you ? Let me see 6 —yes, I have. Our consul Messalla has bought Autronius’s¹⁸ house for £120,000. What is that to me ? you will say. Only that a comparison with that purchase proves that I made a good bargain ; and people are beginning to see that it is quite legitimate to borrow the money for a purchase from one’s friends as a help to a good position. That ‘*lady-Trojan*’ business still drags on, but the matter is not hopeless¹⁹.

¹⁵ This seems to mean that Atticus had suggested a description of the locality in some speech, but Mr. Pretor prefers to render ‘I will pack up the sketch in the same parcel with my speech.’ I see no reason for Mr. Tyrrell’s suggestion *incudam*.

¹⁶ Probably only of some previous letter.

¹⁷ See Introduction to Letter iv.

¹⁸ Lucius Autronius Paetus was now in exile for connection with the conspiracy of Catilina.

¹⁹ This allusion is obscure, but it is thought by many to refer to Gaius

Mind and finish your part. If you wait you shall have a less reserved letter from me. Jan. 25.

VII. (AD ATT. I. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Feb. 13, 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

1 I am afraid you must be sick of hearing how busy I am, but for all that I am so distracted with work that I can hardly find time for this note, such as it is, and even that has to be taken in snatches from most important business.

What Pompeius's first speech was like I described to you before—not encouraging to the poor, not going far enough for the radicals, not conciliatory to the well-to-do, and not reassuring to the patriotic: the consequence of which was that it had a chilling reception. Afterwards, at the instigation of our consul Piso, Fufius Calenus, an utterly worthless tribune, brings Pompeius forward to address the people. (This took place in the Flaminian Circus, and there happened to be already there that very day a *conciliabule*—of market-people¹.) The question put to him was whether he was in favour of the jury being nominated by the praetor, with the understanding that the praetor should also consider them to be his assessors, this being the proposal adopted by the
2 Senate to meet the case of the Clodian sacrilege. Hereupon Pompeius made a speech quite *en grand seigneur*, replying that the authority of the Senate now as ever was with him supreme, and this at considerable length. Afterwards one of the consuls, Messalla, put a question to Pompeius in the

Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship. See especially Mr. Pretor's note on Ad Att. i. 12. 1. Mr. Watson says (2nd ed. Addenda) that this note has 'induced him to look with more favour on the identification of Teucris with Antonius.' Also Mr. Tyrrell's note on the same passage.

¹ The joke in Cicero, such as it is, consists in applying so dignified a term as *παραίρεσις* to a lot of market-people. Similarly, *Conciliabule* is properly applied to an assembly of schismatical prelates, but Rousseau uses it in a curious parallel to Cicero's expression: 'Les conciliabules qui se tiennent chez les femmes de chambre.' (Hel. vi. 10.)

Senate about his sentiments on the verdict of sacrilege and the bill which had been introduced. His reply in the Senate took the form of a panegyric on the acts of that body *en bloc*, and on resuming his seat he remarked to me: 'I think I have said all that is necessary about your² act.' When Crassus³ found that Pompeius had won applause solely because he had suggested an impression that he approved of the action of my consulship, he rose and spoke in most enthusiastic terms of what I had done when consul, going so far as to say that he owed it to me if he was this day a senator and a citizen, and spared to enjoy his freedom and his very life: he could not look on wife, or home, or country without having brought before his eyes the blessings that I had bestowed. In short, all those phrases about fire and sword (but you must know those *paillettes*³ with which I love to give some colour to my speeches, seeing that you criticise them like an Aristarchus) he worked with much effect into the thread of his argument. I happened to be sitting next to Pompeius and saw that that personage was annoyed, possibly at Crassus stepping in to establish a claim for gratitude which he himself had failed to secure, or else at my actions being so highly appreciated that an encomium upon them elicited such a warm response from the Senate: particularly as it came from one who owed me a panegyric all the less because in every line I have written he has been rather hardly treated to exalt

² If '*istis*' be the correct reading, perhaps Boot's explanation is the best—that the actual words of Pompeius are quoted. Mr. Tyrrell thinks Cicero uses the word in 'arrogant modesty.'

³ This use of *λήκυθος* (and in Latin of *ampulla*) seems to have become proverbial, from the *ληκτύθιον* in 'The Frogs' of Aristophanes, for a rhetorical phrase that has passed into a mannerism. (Lidd. and Scott, s. v. *λήκυθος*). But both these words are used properly of the vessels in which painters kept their moist colours, and in this passage the two meanings of a rhetorical trick and of embellishment seem to run into one another. To render *λήκυθους* 'swelling phrases' as Mr. Watson does, by which I suppose he means a reference to the shape of the '*ampulla*' (so also both Keightley and Maclean on Hor. Ep. i. 3. 14), is, I think, misleading. I see that Mr. Tyrrell makes a similar criticism on that rendering.

- 4 Pompeius. This day has made me a close ally of Crassus: yet whatever credit the latter was willing to allow me, directly or indirectly ⁴, I have always been glad to receive. Then as to myself, on getting a new listener in Pompeius—ye gods! *comme je me suis pavané!* If ever I found ‘period’ and ‘turn,’ ‘antithesis’ and ‘trope’ rise spontaneously to my lips, it was then:—in short, I brought the house down. For—to give a *canevas* of my speech—it was the dignity of our body, and the harmony it had shown with the equestrian order; the unanimity of Italy; the dying embers of the conspiracy; and the plenty and peace we enjoyed. You know already how I can deliver my thunders when I have such material to work upon. They were so loud that I may now say the less about them, as I suppose they made themselves heard even where you are.
- 5 As for the position of affairs at Rome: our Senate might have been sitting upon Mars’ Hill. Nothing could be more resolute, more stern, or more determined. For when the day came for submitting to the people the proposal accepted by the Senate, some young fops with their little beards came trooping up—the whole of Catilina’s herd in fact—under the leadership of that slip of a girl, young Curio, and implored the people to reject the bill. Why even Piso, who as consul had proposed the bill, was now himself working against it. Clodius’s rowdies had blocked up the gangways: the voting tickets were being supplied in such a way that not a single Aye was given out ⁵. Hereupon you should see Cato rush to the tribune and make an astounding invective against Piso, if one can call invective a speech that breathed nothing but dignity and authority, and, in a word, wholesome patriotism. On the same side too came our friend Hortensius and many

⁴ I take ‘*aperte tecte*’ as a conventional phrase, which has therefore lost the connecting particle, like ‘*Patres Conscripti*,’ ‘*lis vindiciae*,’ &c. Mr. Pretor however separates the words. ‘I openly acknowledged, if he even secretly conceded.’

⁵ ‘It is an old story. There are people to this day who assure you that Napoleon III obtained his throne by tampering with the ballot-box.’ Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, p. 48.

true men besides. Favonius indeed specially distinguished himself by his support. Thanks to the nobles being in such force the assembly is broken up, and the Senate convoked. When the time came for passing the decree in a full house (Piso meanwhile exerting himself in opposition, and Clodius kneeling in entreaty to every single person) that the consuls should use their influence to induce the people to accept the proposal, some fifteen personages voted with Curio, who was for making no decree at all: against him there were fully four hundred. That settled the matter. The tribune, Fufius, did not press his opposition. Clodius made some pitiful harangues in which he assailed Lucullus, Hortensius, Gaius Piso, and the consul Messalla with abuse: me he only twitted with 'being in the secret of everything⁶.' The Senate then proceeded to pass a resolution to stop all business about the praetors' provinces, and the reception of ambassadors, and so on, till the bill became law. Now you know all about politics ⁶ at Rome. But I must tell you one other thing, which is more than I had hoped for. Our consul Messalla is a fine fellow, brave, resolute, and energetic; he praises, is devoted to, and imitates me. His colleague is only saved by one vice—his laziness, sleepiness, ignorance, and general *fainéantise*—from being entirely vicious: in spite of which he is so *méchant* that he has hated Pompeius ever since that speech of his in praise of the Senate. The result is that he has alienated all the better men to an astonishing degree, though he has been instigated scarcely so much by his interest in Clodius as by taking up the side of the most abandoned men and measures. But he finds no imitator among those in office except Fufius. We are enjoying a good set of tribunes, and as for Cornutus, he would like to be a Cato if he could⁷. But enough of this.

⁶ Alluding apparently to a boast of Cicero's about his management of the Catiline conspiracy which had become a joke against him. See Merivale, i. 116.

⁷ Mr. Pretor thinks '*bonis*' decisive against the meaning 'a sham Cato;' but he has failed to quote any instance of the use of Pseudo in a complimentary sense. If Cicero means that Cornutus was sound, he must at least

- 7 Now to return to domestic matters. The lady-Trojan⁸ has been as good as her word. Mind you fulfil the commissions you have undertaken. My brother Quintus, who has bought up the remaining three-quarters of his house in the Argiletum for £6000, is trying to dispose of his place at Tusculum to buy Pacilius's house if he can. Make it up⁹ with Luceius: I see the man is a good deal smitten with the mania for office. I will do my best to help you. Mind you let me know exactly your doings and your whereabouts, and how those matters of ours are getting on. Feb. 13.

VIII. (AD ATT. I. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July, 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

- 1 You ask me what can have happened about the trial to make it end in such a completely unexpected way, and you want likewise to know how I came to show less fight than usual. I will answer you *en Homère*, or *au rebours*. The fact was, so long as I had the resolution of the Senate to plead for I fought so keenly and strenuously that I made the crowd applaud and rally round me till I had covered myself with glory. Nay, if ever you have thought me a bold statesman, you could not fail to have given me credit in this case. When I found that my enemy had betaken himself to stump orations and was trying to use my name in them to exasperate the people—great Heavens! how I fought and spread desolation around me! what onslaughts I made on Piso, on Curio, and all that crew! how I inveighed against the supineness of the old, the licence of the young! Throughout it all, upon my solemn word, it was not only for the support of your advice I wanted you, but that you might see for yourself how grandly I was

imply that he was the ass in the lion's skin. 'Cato's Sancho' is a phrase used by Mommsen of Favonius.

⁸ See Letter vi. § 6.

⁹ Madvig and Wesenberg read '*redii*,' 'I have made it up.'

fighting. However, after Hortensius had hit on his scheme ² of letting the tribune Fufius carry a bill about sacrilege, differing from the proposal of the consuls in one point only, namely the class of people to try the case—this of course being the vital point,—and struggled hard to get his measure passed, because he had really persuaded himself as well as others that the defendant could not possibly be acquitted by any kind of panel whatever, I drew in my horns, knowing only too well the neediness of the jury, and did not give a syllable of evidence except what was already so well known and attested that I could not pass it over. So if you want—*pour revenir*—to know the cause of the acquittal—it was the threadbare coats and itching palms of our jurymen. For this disaster we are indebted to the advice of Hortensius, who in his fear that Fufius would veto the measure prepared in accordance with the decree of the Senate, entirely failed to see how far better it had been to leave Clodius in disgrace and obliged to appeal for pity, than entrust the matter to a set of jurors who could be got at. Misled however by his indignation he precipitated the trial, saying that a sword, were it of lead, could not fail to cut *his* throat. But the trial! if ³ you ask me about that, we can scarcely believe the ending: it has so completely justified my condemning Hortensius's plan from the very first, just as other people do now after the result. When the challenging had taken place, amid loud outcries, as the prosecutor like a scrupulous censor was rejecting the infamous characters, while the defendant like an economical trainer was putting aside the most respectable, from the moment the jury had gone into the box, the hearts of good people began decidedly to fail them. Greater rascals never sat round the table of a gambling hell. There were seedy senators and needy knights, and tribunes who may be called paymasters, but are not masters of much pay¹. Yet

¹ The *tribuni aerarii* were paymasters in the army. It is not necessary to make *aerati* refer to bribes. At present Cicero is only speaking of their needy antecedents. I see no reason for altering the reading.

here and there among them were respectable people whom the defendant had been unable to get rid of by his challenge. There they sat, looking as sad as they felt, among companions who formed the strongest contrast to them, and sorely troubled
4 at having to soil themselves by touching such pitch. Well as point after point was submitted to the bench on the preliminary inquiry, the uprightness they showed was utterly unexpected, and that without a single dissentient voice. The defendant did not gain a point: the prosecutor was allowed more than he ventured to claim; in a word, Hortensius was beginning to be triumphant at the penetration he had shown. Not a soul looked on Clodius as now on his trial, but rather as condemned, yes a thousand times over. But when they called me as a witness, I suppose the uproar of the partisans of Clodius must have been enough to tell you² how the jury rose as one man, how they took their stand by me, how they showed themselves to Clodius in the court ready for my life to offer their throats to the sword. This circumstance seems to me more complimentary than either the famous one when you Athenians made Xenocrates give his evidence without oath, or when in our own country a jury refused to inspect the accounts of Metellus Numidicus on their being handed round as usual: this tribute to myself is, I repeat, even more re-
5 markable. And so, owing to such an expression of opinion from the jurors who rallied round me thus as the saviour of the country, the defendant was utterly crushed, and with him all his supporters were left prostrate, while I next day was met at my house by a crowd as great as that which escorted me home in triumph when I laid down my consulship. Forthwith our noble Areopagites complain loudly that

² Like Mr. Pretor, I cannot understand why Mr. Watson and Mr. Tyrrell should turn this into 'you must have heard how the judges rose after the outcries,' &c., which requires a violent and unnecessary distortion of the order of the words. And as for the hyperbole, compare Letter vii. § 4; or for a much more recent parallel, Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Johnson*, p. 137: 'Johnson burst into a sudden fury against the American rebels, and roared out a tremendous volley which might almost have been audible across the Atlantic.'

they cannot venture to come, unless a guard be given them. This is referred to the bench. One vote only was given against having a guard. The proposal is then introduced in the Senate, and voted in the strongest and most complimentary terms; and with many eulogies on the jury the necessary powers are given to the magistrates. Not a soul thought the fellow would have any defence to make. '*Musa, mihi causas memora*'³. You know whom I mean by 'Baldhead'—one of the Nanneian set—that late panegyrist of mine⁴: I have already told you about his speech and its compliments to me—well, in a couple of days, with the help of a single slave, one fetched too from the nearest training-school, he had the whole business settled: he had sent for them all, promised the money, given security, and paid the bribe down. To crown it all (oh heavens, what a depth of villainy!) even the favours of certain ladies and introductions to well-born youths helped with some of the judges to swell their price. In the end, though the better sort had almost entirely washed their hands of the business, and the forum was crowded with gladiators, there were still twenty-five on the bench resolute enough, even in face of this extreme danger, to be willing to lose their lives rather than live and be lost; while thirty-one of them cared little about being famous, but much about being famished. When Catulus met one of them afterwards, 'Why was it,' says he, 'you demanded a guard from us? Were you afraid of being robbed of your wages?'

Here then you have, as shortly as I can put it, a description⁶ of the trial and the true reason of the acquittal. You next proceed to ask what are the prospects of the Republic and of myself. Let me tell you that the constitution

³ Aen. i. 8. The mock-heroic exordium of Cicero is from Iliad xvi. 112.

⁴ Letter vii. § 3 seems to show that by 'Baldhead' Cicero here means Crassus, who it is suggested by Manutius may have bought up some of the estates of Nanneius (a victim of Sulla's proscription) under the name of Calvus.

which you believed made so secure by my human providence, and I by the divine; which did indeed appear to be well established and set on a firm basis by the united action of all good men and the wholesome terror of my consulship, has now, unless Heaven somehow look with pity on us, already slipped from our hands through this single judgment—if it be a judgment when thirty of the most worthless scoundrels among all the people of Rome overthrow for a paltry bribe all law and justice: when, though not only every human being but the very brutes know that a deed was committed, a Thalna, a Plautus, a Spongia, and other scum like this decide that it has not been committed;

7 Still, to give you a little consolation about the future of our country, the party of disorder is not so hotly triumphant as the vicious hoped at the heavy blow inflicted on the constitution. For unquestionably this was what they believed, that if religion, virtue, the integrity of the courts, and the authority of the Senate could be put down, the result would be that crime and lust might openly wreak their vengeance on the good for the pain of the brand that had been burnt into every villain

8 by my stern consulship. / It was I too (and I cannot accuse myself of wanton boasting in this, seeing that I am writing to you and about myself, more especially as this is a letter that is not meant to be read to other people)—it was I also, I say, who revived the drooping courage of the good, by reassuring and rousing each individual to action: while by attacking and harrying these venal jurymen I robbed his partisans and backers of any *suffisance* their victory might inspire: the consul Piso I would not allow to be at peace for a single moment whatever he did, even taking Syria away from the man when it had been already promised to him: the Senate I brought round to its former vigour, and roused it from its dejection: Clodius I smashed then and there in the Senate with an elaborate harangue in my most dignified tone, followed by the sparring-match I am going to describe. (You may have a few tit-bits of it just to taste, for the rest could

not possibly have any point or interest when one has lost the heat, or as you would call it *acharnement*, of debate.)

On the 15th of May then, when the Senate met, being ⁹ invited to deliver my opinion I spoke at some length on the true interests of the Republic, and was inspired to utter this remark, that we the elders of the State ought not to be utterly beaten or lose all heart on receiving a first blow. The wound, I said, was of such a nature as, in my opinion, ought neither to be hidden out of sight, nor overmuch feared: in the one case by our affected ignorance we should be proved to be most blind, in the other by our terror most helpless. Twice had Lentulus been acquitted, and twice had Catilina: here now was a third let loose upon the State by his judges. 'No, Clodius, this is a mistake of yours: when the jurors reprieved you, it was not to send you back to life in the city, but the dungeon; not to keep you in this country, but to prevent you from merely going into exile. Wherefore, Senators, be of good heart, and maintain your authority. Still as before we have the sympathy of every good man in the State. All true men have had much to lament, but their courage has been unshaken: no new evil has been created, but one that existed has been brought to light: in trying one abandoned man we have established the fact that there were others like him.' But what am I about? I have all but put my speech ¹⁰ into my letter. To return to our passage of arms. My pretty boy gets up, and attacks me for having been at Baiae. ('This was not true, but how do you think I retorted?') 'It would seem then,' was my answer, 'that you fancy you are accusing me of having been there *on the sly*.'

'What,' says he, 'could a person from Arpinum find to do at a Spa?'

'Tell that,' quoth I, 'to your kind patron, who was anxious enough to get some springs from a person of Arpinum.' (Of course you know all about those sea-baths⁵?)

⁵ Curio the elder, whose son is probably the 'kind patron,' had bought an estate once belonging to Marius (who like Cicero was from Arpinum) at

'How long,' he bursts out, 'shall we let this man be king?'

'What? do you talk of a king,' say I, 'when there was one who left you entirely out of his will?' (This was because he had by anticipation devoured the legacy that was to come to him from a man of that name⁶.)

'You have bought a palace,' says he.

'Suppose it was the jury,' I retort, 'which you say I have bought?'

'Jury!' exclaims he, 'why, they would not believe you on your oath.'

'Nay,' I reply, 'twenty-five of the jurors did trust me, while thirty-one, as they had their money down beforehand, entirely refused, it seems, to give you any trust.' Overwhelmed then by the shouts that arose he retired from the contest, and had not a word to answer.

- 11 As to my own position, it is this: among the respectable classes just as when you left; among the filth and dregs of town much better than when you left; for it has certainly done me no harm to be known that my evidence was ineffectual. My unpopularity has been let blood without hurting, and all the more because even the supporters of that iniquity acknowledge that it was a perfectly clear case, bought off from the judges. There is, besides, the fact that our rabble of treasury horse-leeches, the starved and miserable mob, imagine me to be immensely esteemed by 'the Great' man: and, upon my word, we are really united together by a long and pleasant intimacy; so much so that those reckless scamps in the conspiracy, the young fellows with the little beards, call him familiarly Gnaeus Cicero⁷. And so both at the games and the gladiators' shows we came off with

Baiae. Mr. Watson retains *marinas*, but *Marianas* is far more pointed. See Mr. Pretor's note. ⁶ His brother-in-law, Quintius Marcius Rex.

⁷ Dr. Mommsen does not find it necessary to adopt such a complimentary interpretation. 'He (Pompeius) vacillated with so much uncertainty between the parties that people gave him the nickname of Gnaeus Cicero.' iv. 1. 194.

astonishing *éclat*, without any *charivari* of cat-calls at all. Now we are all looking forward to the elections, for which ¹² our friend 'the great' Pompeius, much to everybody's disgust, is pushing that 'Aulus Junior⁸,' and fighting for him not by authority or influence, but the means by which Philip used to say that any fort could be taken [up to which there was the means of getting an ass laden with gold]. They say too that our worthy consul has undertaken to play second fiddle in this farce⁹, and has the people in his own house to distribute money; which I for one do not believe. But two bills have lately been passed in the Senate on the motion of Domitius and Cato, which are much objected to because they are supposed to be directed against the consul: one that special powers should be given for searching the houses of magistrates¹⁰; the other that any one who harboured bribery-agents in his house should be held guilty of a treasonable offence. But Lurco the tribune, who took office under the ¹³ obligations of the act of Aelius¹¹, was exempted from the

⁸ See Letter i. § 1.

⁹ 'Deterioris histrionis' must mean, if anything, that he was willing to be the *δευτεράγωνιστος* to Pompeius and play into his hands. But 'Doterionis,' a coined name for a dispenser of bribes, finds much support, and 'histrionis' is then probably an allusion to the two actors Aristodemus and Neoptolemus (Demosth. De Fals. Leg. p. 442; Cicero, De Rep. iv. 35), who conducted negotiations on behalf of Philip.

¹⁰ This is the usual interpretation of a passage, which Mr. Pretor proposes to render 'that a commission of enquiry shall be held before the proper authorities.' He objects to the rendering in the text: (1) that it makes the two clauses almost identical; (2) that the measure in question is referred to (Ad Att. i. 17. 8) as '*ut de iis . . . quaereretur*.' Neither of these objections seems conclusive; while, on the other hand, the meaning which we should then have to give to '*liceret*' is surely inadmissible; i. e. not that inquiry *may* be held, but that it *shall* be held before magistrates. Boot proposes to read '*et*' for '*alterum*,' making the exemption of Lurco the second decree. But this, besides being a reckless alteration, leaves no proper antithesis to '*unum*.'

¹¹ Mr. Munro states in a note appended to Mr. Pretor's that 'the Medicean reading is *insimul cum*, not *simul cum*, of which the following is a simple and perhaps not unsatisfactory correction: *qui magistratum insimulatum lege Aelia iussit*; "who entered upon a magistracy impeached by the Lex Aelia." It can hardly be doubted at least that this is the best of the many corrections proposed. The suspension of these laws was necessary to enable Lurco to propose

operation of both that and Fufius's act in order to carry his bill about bribery; which, lame as the man is, he has succeeded in introducing without having the auspices vitiated. So the election has been postponed till the 27th of July. The bill contains this novelty, that any one who has promised money to the tribes shall not be liable to any penalty, provided he has not paid it: but if he has paid it, shall forfeit £25 to each tribe for the period of his natural life. My remark was that this law had been scrupulously kept by Clodius already, even before it was passed, for it was just his way to promise and not to pay. But, mark you! even my consulship, which Curio used once to call '*l'apothéose du consulat*,' if this fellow be elected will seem like having played at being in office¹². So, I suppose, like you *il faut se faire philosophe*, and not care a straw for all your consulships.

- 14 As to your decision you mention, not to start for Asia, I myself could have wished you to go, and I fear that in the end it may lead to something awkward: still I cannot blame your choice, especially as I myself have not gone to a province.
- 15 I shall be quite content with the inscriptions you have assigned to me in your Shrine of Amalthea¹³, particularly since Thyillus has deserted me, while Archias has written nothing about me, and having finished his Greek poem on the Luculli
- 16 is now thinking of a 'Caecilian drama'¹⁴. I thanked Antonius for you, and gave the letter to Mallius: the reason why I did not write oftener to you before was that I had no proper person to entrust a letter to, nor was I quite sure to what
- 17 address I ought to send. I have been loud in your praise.

his Bribery Bill, and as personal defects were generally thought inauspicious, Cicero means that Lurco's lameness might have been expected to vitiate the auspices, but that nobody put a veto on his proposal.

¹² *Fabam mimum*, which is but a doubtful reading at best, seems to be an allusion to children playing (*mimum*) at electing a king with beans (*fabam*). A 'Twelfth Night royalty.' (Watson.) Mr. Pretor reads *fabulam mimum*, a play that is a mere farce.

¹³ Compare Letter vi. § 1.

¹⁴ The poem Archias is thinking of is one in honour of Quintus *Caecilius Metellus*, which Cicero calls a 'Caecilian drama,' in allusion to the famous comedian *Caecilius*.

If Cincius commissions me with any business for you, I will undertake it, but just now he is more occupied with his own, in which of course I am expected to help him. You may expect, if you are going to stay in one place, to have numerous letters from me, but be sure you send me even more in return. I wish you would write to me what sort of place ¹⁸ your '*Amalthéum*' really is, what are its fittings and what its *orientement*; and also send me poems or stories of any kind you have about '*Amalthée*' herself: I have a fancy for making one on my place at Arpinum. I will send you something of my own writings: at present there is nothing finished.

IX. (AD ATT. II. 1.)

✓ FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

June 694 A.V.C. (60 B.C.)

After his acquittal, Clodius obtained the sanction of a popular vote to his adoption into a plebeian family, with the object of rendering himself eligible as a tribune of the people. This is generally represented as a step to gratify his animosity against Cicero, a view which is vigorously controverted by Prof. Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, p. 67; compare *Merivale*, i. 161; *Mommsen*, iv. i. 107; *Forsyth*, p. 155.

This is the first letter of Cicero's in which Caesar is mentioned as being in a prominent position, though it was written about the time of the formation of the first triumvirate. See Introduction to the next letter.

On the 1st of June, as I was starting for Antium, and very glad to be out of the way of Metellus's exhibition of gladiators, I met your messenger. He gave me a letter from you, and a memoir of my consulship written in Greek: whereupon I congratulated myself that long before this I had given Cossinius my treatise on the same subject, also in Greek, to take to you; because had I read yours first you would be accusing me of stealing from you. It is true your narrative—which I eagerly read—seemed to me a trifle rough and unadorned, but yet it was not without a certain attractiveness, from its very refusal of attractions, and, as they say of women, all the sweeter from having no added sweets.

Whereas my book, besides exhausting Isocrates's dressing-case, and all the rouge-pots of his school, had a touch of Aristotle's colouring as well. You dipped hastily into it (as I understand from another letter of yours) at Corcyra, but afterwards, I suppose, had a copy sent you through Cossinius. I should not have ventured to send it you unless I had found leisure to revise it minutely and critically.

2 And yet Posidonius has just written to me from Rhodes that on reading the *mémoire* I sent him for a more elaborate work from his pen on the same theme, so far from finding himself more disposed to write, he has been fairly discouraged. The fact is, I have taken all the Greek aback, so that for the most part those who were very pressing for me to give them some notes to elaborate, have now desisted from persecuting me. Will you be good enough, if you like the book, to take care that it makes its way to Athens and the other towns of Greece, for I think it may possibly
3 place my achievements in a clearer light? As for my speeches, such as they are¹, I will send those you ask for, and some others too, since it seems that what I have been induced to put into writing merely at the urgent request of some lads, can give pleasure to you too. The fact is, that it suited my purpose to follow the lead of your great countryman [Demosthenes] in his series of speeches which we call Philippics, after he had risen into eminence, and exchanged our quibbling style of pleading in law-courts for a higher rôle, more *en homme d'état*, and to prepare a similar collection of my own, to be called the 'speeches of my consulship.' One of these was delivered in the Senate on the 1st of January; the second was an address to the people on the agrarian law; the third is on Otho²; the fourth my defence of Rabirius³; the fifth about

¹ See Mr. Watson's note. The diminutive seems to be an affected depreciation; but it has also been understood of short exercises in declamation.

² The celebrated act of Roscius Otho reserving the fourteen front rows in the Circus to the knights, with a qualification of income, caused a sort of O. P. riot.

³ The trial of Rabirius is very important, as it finally disposes, and in

the sons of persons proscribed; the sixth is my public renunciation of the right to a province⁴; the seventh is the one by which I drove Catilina from the city; the eighth I addressed to the people the day after his flight; the ninth was delivered in the assembly on the day when the Allobroges made their appeal⁵; and the tenth in the Senate on the 5th of December. There are besides two short ones, *échantillons*, if I may so call them, of the Agrarian law. All this *ensemble* I will take care that you have; and since you feel interested not only in my writings but my actions, you will find in these speeches a full account of what I have been doing as well as what I have been saying. Otherwise you should not have asked for them: it was not I who tried to thrust myself upon you.

As you ask me why I write for you to come here, and⁴ mention moreover that you are much hindered by business, but will not refuse to come if it be really necessary, or even if I press the point, the truth is that there is no positive necessity; but still it did seem to me that you might arrange the time for your wanderings more conveniently. You are too long away at a time, especially as you are at [no] great distance: and so I miss your companionship, and you have to do without me. And though just now, it is true, all is quiet, if the madness of that pretty youth were allowed to go but a step or two further, I should most decidedly summon you from your retreat. But Metellus keeps him

Cicero's own consulship, of the plea for the Catilinarian conspirators' execution. He was accused of the murder of Saturninus forty years before in an insurrection, and the trial involved the whole question whether the Senate could give the power of life and death over Roman citizens. This was settled in the negative by his virtual condemnation, which was only averted by a constitutional fiction, probably acquiesced in by both sides. Mr. Froude (p. 126) actually misreads the evidence so far as to state that Ral acquitted. Mommsen, iv. 1. 159; Merivale, i. 103; Forsy

⁴ See Letter v. § 8.

⁵ This word is doubtful. *Involgarunt* and *indicarunt* (closures) have been suggested. See Letter xiv. § 1.

finely in check, and will still do so. He, for the matter of that, is a consul who is really *ami de la patrie*, and, as I have
5 always held, naturally well-disposed. That other personage is aiming however (not in bravado but quite seriously) at being elected tribune of the people. When this question was brought on for discussion in the Senate I smashed the fellow, severely exposing his sudden conversion in becoming a candidate for the tribuneship, whereas in Sicily he had frequently stated that his object was the aedileship: not that we, I remarked, need trouble ourselves overmuch; he might become a plebeian, but would no more be allowed to bring us to ruin than his patrician associates had been allowed in my consulship. So again, when the same personage declared he had travelled here in six days from the Channel, leaving no one time so much as to come out and meet him, and that he had made his entry by night, and actually ventured to boast of this in the Senate, I retorted that for him it was no such unheard-of thing to travel to Rome from Sicily in six days; within three hours he had reached Rome from Interamna⁶. Had he entered in the dead of night? So had he done before. Had no one come to give him a reception? No more had they even when there was very good reason for doing so. In a word, I am giving his insolence a good lesson, not merely by serious and elaborate speeches, but by this kind of repartee. So now I use a tone of bantering familiarity with him to his face. Once even, when we were escorting our candidate home, he asks me, 'Do you usually reserve your Sicilian clients a place at the games? No? Well, then,' says he, 'I being their new patron shall start the idea, though my sister, who has so much of the consul's space at her disposal, only allows me just one foot.' 'Oh, don't complain,' quoth I,

⁶ Clodius endeavoured on his trial to establish an alibi, affirming that he had been at Interamna, sixty miles off, at the time, while Cicero swore that he had seen him in Rome three hours before the occurrence. All these repartees refer to Clodius's intrusion on the mysteries at Caesar's house. (Letter vi. § 2.)

‘of your sister giving you only one foot; I am sure she would let *you* take the other thing too⁷.’ A very unconsular joke, you will say. I plead guilty, but I cannot stand that woman, so unfit as she is to be a consul’s wife. She is a perfect shrew; she is at daggers drawn with her husband Metellus, and not only with him but Fabius too, because she is so displeased with the part they are taking.

As for the Agrarian law about which you ask me, as a matter of fact, it seems now to have cooled down. When you admonish me, though it seems somehow a gentle touch, about my intimacy with Pompeius, I should not like you to imagine that I ally myself to him only to secure my own protection; but things were so circumstanced, that if there chanced to be any disagreement between us, most serious party dissensions must have become prevalent. Now I have guarded against this danger with such precaution that, without my abandoning the high principles I have adopted, he is now inclined to better things, and to lay aside somewhat of his weak popular subserviency. And you must know he speaks in much higher terms of my policy, which so many people were urging him to attack, than of his own: what he claims for himself is that he has guided the State, for me that I have saved it. How far his doing this may prove an advantage to me I cannot tell, but unquestionably it is an advantage to the State. Supposing I bring over Caesar too, who is now sailing triumphantly before the breeze, to the better side, am I then doing such great injury to the State? I will go farther than this. If no one were jealous of me, 6 if all supported me as they ought to do, none the less we ought to adopt any system of treatment which would heal the unsound members of the State in preference to one which would cut them off. But now when all our knighthood, which once I posted on the slopes of the Capitol under your standard, has left the Senate to fight alone; when our nobles

⁷ Of course *alterum* agrees with *pedem*, but the joke is of such a character that a little inaccuracy is advisable. See Letter xxix. § 15.

think they have all but reached the skies if they can get the red mullet⁸ in their fish-ponds to come and be fed, and deem everything else trifling in comparison, do you not think I am doing considerable service if I take the will for mischief from those who have the power? Not that you yourself can love Cato more than I do, but still at times, with the very best intentions and the most stainless honour, he does positive harm to his country: for he talks as though we were living in Plato's Utopia, and not, as we are, among Romulus's rascals. What more obvious than that a man ought to be brought to trial who has taken a bribe to pervert judgment? So urged Cato, and the Senate assented. Result—a war of the knights against the Senate; not against me, for I expressed my dissent. What more outrageous than the tax-farmers repudiating their contract? Yet the prudent course was to submit to the loss, and so retain the goodwill of the class. Cato fought against this and carried his point, the consequence being that with a consul flung into prison⁹, with sedition stirring again and again, not one would give us a good wish of the very men who, under me and the consuls too who followed me, used to rally round us and keep the constitution impregnable. What then, you will say, are we to buy the support of your friends? What must we do if we cannot help ourselves? Are we to be at the beck of freedmen, ay, and of slaves? But, as you say to me, *trève aux affaires*.

9 Favonius has carried my tribe with more flying colours than his own, but has lost Luceius's. He has prosecuted Nasica, straightforwardly enough, and yet he ground out his words in such a ponderous way that one would fancy at Rhodes

⁸ The 'mullus barbatus' of naturalists is the plain red mullet, distinguished from our common or striped red mullet (mullus surmuletus). All kinds of mullet have two long barbules on the under jaw.

⁹ The consul Metellus Celer was imprisoned by the tribune Flavius for opposing the Agrarian law. Merivale, i. 163.

he must have ground in a very different mill from Molon's¹⁰. To me, as having undertaken the defence, he was mildly reproachful. But now he is again a candidate—only for the public good! What Luceius is about I will let you know as soon as I have seen Caesar, who will be here in a couple of days. For the Sicyonians keeping you out of your due you¹⁰ may thank Cato, and Servilius, who apes him¹¹. Well, does not that blow touch many a good citizen? However, since the Senate so pleased, let us think it is right: only then we must make up our minds to be left alone in any future division of opinion¹². My Amalthea is awaiting you, and much wants your advice¹³. I am charmed with my places at Tusculum¹¹ and Pompeii, except that I find (I, who am known as the champion of creditors!) how they swallow up loads of good metal, not so much Corinthian bronze, as of the humbler medium of the exchange. We have hopes that all is quiet in Gaul. You may expect my book on 'Prognostics'¹⁴ almost immediately, with a few speeches: but do write what are your intentions about coming, for Pomponia desired a message to be sent to me that you would be at Rome in July, which does not agree with the letter you sent me about your rents. Paetus, as I told you before, has given me the books he be-¹² lieves his brother has left. Whether I ever get this present depends now on your looking after it. I implore you to see that they are kept safe and brought to me; nothing could oblige me more than this: and will you be careful to keep his Greek books, and more particularly his Latin ones. This

¹⁰ Apollonius Molon was a noted Rhodian teacher of rhetoric who had Cicero and Caesar among his pupils.

¹¹ Servilius and Cato had carried a decree against the violent methods employed by powerful Romans for recovery of alleged debts from provincials and free states. Compare the terribly significant story of Cicero and Brutus, Letter xxxvi. 10.

¹² *Diacesio* is apparently not used here in its ordinary sense of divisions in the Senate.

¹³ Compare Letters vi. 1, viii. 18.

¹⁴ A translation of Aratus's *Diosemeia*.

I shall consider to be your contribution. I have written to Octavius¹⁵. I did not speak to him personally; indeed I did not know that your business had anything to do with the province, nor did I venture to class you among the paltrier tribe that 'breed of barren metal;' but I have written to him, as in duty bound, very strongly.

X. (AD ATT. II. 16).

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in May, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

Soon after the date of the last letter Atticus returned to Rome, so that there is here a gap of several months in the correspondence. Meanwhile at Rome events had moved fast. In the summer of 60 B.C. the celebrated cabal of Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus, generally known as the first triumvirate, was formed; a coalition entirely to the advantage of Caesar. For the next year Caesar was elected consul; the aristocratic party succeeding by lavish bribery in procuring the election also of the dull-witted Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, whose helpless opposition to his colleague soon became the theme of popular satire. Caesar then lost no time in proposing an Agrarian law, entrusting to a commission of twenty the division of State lands, particularly in Campania, among the veterans of Pompeius and large numbers of the poorer citizens. This was rejected by the Senate, but forced through on appeal to the people, and the humiliation of the Senate was complete. The cabal was in fact an usurpation of absolute power, and cleared the way for the coming monarchy. See Mommsen, *iv.* 1. 196-206; Merivale, *i.* 166-175; Forsyth, *c.* 11.

In April, Cicero left Antium, where he had been, for his villa at Formiae. The remains of this are pointed out at the Villa Marsana, near Castiglione.

- 1 On the last day of April, as I was just dropping off to sleep after dinner, your letter on the subject of the Campanian land-division was brought to me. Well, at first it startled me so as to put an end to sleep, but more from thoughtfulness than uneasiness. And the result of my thinking comes pretty much to this. First, from what you said in a previous letter—that you had heard from an intimate friend of the proposer

¹⁵ Gaius Octavius, father of the emperor Augustus, now governor of Macedonia.

of a proposal to be made which would satisfy everybody—I had apprehended a more heroic scheme. This seems to me to be not at all of that kind. Secondly, it is comforting to me to see how all the hopes of a distribution of land are now diverted towards Campania. Now this tract, assuming that each man gets only six acres and a half, cannot possibly provide for more than five thousand men; all the rest of the crowd of expectants cannot fail to be embittered against them. Moreover, if there is any single thing calculated more than another to stir the indignation of good citizens (who I see are already roused to action), it is this: and all the more because, as the customs in Italian ports are abolished and the Campanian lands divided, what home revenues have we left, except the five per cent. tax¹? and I suppose even that will be swept away, if any one shows the slightest opposition to it, by the clamour of our quondam lackeys. What our friend² Gnaeus may be ultimately intending I declare outright I do not know, when it has been found possible to induce him to go so far; but

‘He plays no more on tiny treble pipes,

Roars with wild blast his uncurbed storm of sound.’

For up to this time he has adopted the *ruse* of answering that he must give his sanction to Caesar’s laws, while it was for Caesar himself to be responsible for the means of carrying them; that he accepted the principle of an Agrarian law, but whether a veto was possible or not had nothing to do with him; that he approved of a settlement being at length agreed to about the king of Alexandria, but whether Bibulus had really on that occasion watched for omens in the sky or not it was not his business to inquire; as to the tax-farmers, he had always been anxious to do their class any service; what would be the probable result if Bibulus were to come down then and there to the Forum

¹ A tax of that amount on the value of slaves who received their freedom.

² Sophocles, Fragm. 753. The *φορβευά* was a sort of mouth-band, intended to modulate the tones of the player.

he could not possibly conjecture. Well, Emir³, I wonder what you will say now? That you have found us new revenues on Anti-Lebanon, if you have taken away that of the Campanian lands? Why, how will you make this good? I will keep you in your place, says he, by means of Caesar's army. I swear to you for my part you will not do it so much by that army of yours, as by the ingratitude of those men who call themselves good citizens, but have never showed me the least gratitude, I do not mean merely in substantial rewards, but not so much as a word of thanks, which is my due in return.

- 3 Why, if I were to bestir myself against that faction, I should undoubtedly find some way of putting a stop to them. As it is, I have fully determined—since the difference of opinion between your favourite Dicaearchus and my friend Theophrastus is so wide, that while your philosopher places the life of 'action' far above all others, mine gives no less preference to the life of 'contemplation,'—to show myself a respectable follower of both. Dicaearchus's opinion, you will admit, I have exemplified more than enough; now I am looking wistfully to the other's school, which not only allows me to take some rest, but blames me for not having always been at rest. So, my dear Titus, let us come back at length to those glorious pursuits of old, back to the path from which we should never have wandered.

- 4 What you say about my brother Quintus's letter is just what he was to me too—

'Prima leo, postrema—!'

I do not know what to call it; for while in his first lines he deploras his long absence enough to make anybody pity him, presently he becomes so easy as to ask me to revise and edit his journals. Will you attend though to the point about

³ Sampsiceramus, the Arab emir of Emesa, had been conquered by Pompeius, who is frequently nicknamed after him by Cicero.

⁴ Lucr. v. 903, which is itself a rendering of Homer's description of the Chimaera, Iliad vi. 181, quoted by Cicero. He means that the beginning and end of the letter differed widely.

which he writes, the claim for port-dues⁵? He says, in accordance with the advice of his council, he has referred the matter to the Senate. Apparently he had not yet read my letter, in which I answered him, after careful consideration and a thorough investigation, that the tax is not legally owing. I should like you to see any Greeks who have come from Asia to Rome about the matter, and if you think good, point out to them what my opinion on the question is. If I can see my way to backing out of my opinion, rather than that the good cause should be lost in the Senate I would make concessions to the tax-farmers: *autrement* I tell you frankly in this matter I had rather make them to the interests of the whole of Asia and the large traders; for the question is of very great importance to them too. This I feel to be absolutely essential for us; but I will leave it to you. Then as to the paymasters, surely they cannot be still disputing about the coinage⁶? If we can get nothing better after trying all expedients, I for one should not despise even their *cistophorus* in the last resource.

I shall expect you at my place at Arpinum, and give you a country-house entertainment, since you would have nothing to do with my seaside one here.

XI. (AD ATT. II. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS, PROBABLY AT BUTHROTUM.

June, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

Staius was a favourite slave of Quintus Cicero who was thought to have undue influence over his master. Hence his manumission seems to have caused

⁵ Boot explains the word as a duty on goods re-exported in default of a purchaser, which was claimed by the tax-farmers.

⁶ This dispute is similar to our Anglo-Indian one about the depreciation of silver and the rupee. The *cistophorus*, a coin of Asia Minor worth probably about 7d., was of higher nominal than real value. The paymasters wished to pay Quintus Cicero his salary in *cistophori* at their nominal value, without allowing for the depreciation.

much unfavourable criticism ; showing already the rise of that dislike of freedmen-favourites which became so marked under the empire.

From this and other letters it would seem that Cicero believed, or perhaps tried to persuade himself, that the triumvirs (*populares isti*) were highly unpopular, and Bibulus and Curio the idols of the people. This is of course impossible, though no doubt there were some among the lower orders who grumbled because their extravagant expectations had not been fulfilled, and thus confirmed the idea that a popular reaction was really spreading. The demonstrations however in the theatre which Cicero reports prove little. Mr. Beesly remarks : ' Probably Cicero sitting among the senators in the stalls tried to persuade himself that their petulance was a sample of popular feeling.' (Clodius, p. 68.)

- 1 I have received several letters from you, which showed me the anxious suspense with which you were longing to hear if there was any news. We are hemmed in on all sides, and no longer rebel against our bondage, but dread death and expulsion, which in reality are far less evils, as though they were heavier : in fact, our position is one which all unanimously lament, and not one has a single word to relieve. The *visée* of our lords and masters, I take it, is to leave no one else the power of bestowing favours. One man only—young Curio—breaks the silence, and withstands them to the face. He receives the loudest applause, and most gratifying demonstrations whenever he appears in public, and numerous testimonies too of goodwill from all honest citizens ; while Fufius is assailed with shouts and jeers and hisses. All this does not increase one's hopes, but only one's bitterness, to see the
- 2 people's inclinations evident, but their spirit curbed. Well, to save you from having to ask about every single detail *peu à peu*, things on the whole have come to this, that there is no hope, I do not say of private individuals, but even of magistrates remaining free for any length of time. Still, under all this oppression speech is freer, at least in the clubs or over the dinner-table, than it was. Indignation begins to get the upper hand of fear, yet not enough to save us from general despondency. Moreover, there is appended to the Campanian law a denunciation to be imprecated in public by the candidates upon themselves, if they should propose any

scheme of distributing the land other than that of Caesar's act. Everybody else is quite ready to swear to it; but Laterensis is considered to have acted splendidly in withdrawing from his candidature for the tribuneship, rather than take the oath. But I cannot bear to write any more about our country; ³ I am only worrying myself, and cannot write without extreme pain. I hold my own, not discredibly, considering how everybody is trodden down, but with little heart, considering what has been my past career.

Caesar is inviting me with much generosity to accept a place on his staff; or again, I have the offer of an honorary ambassadorship, nominally to discharge a vow. But the latter affords insufficient protection in view of the delicate advances of my young friend, the Beauty ¹, and also sends me off on a mission just when my brother is coming home: the former is not only safer, but gives me liberty to be in town when I choose. The other I have already got, though I do not think I shall avail myself of it; but yet nobody knows. I hate running away, and long to fight it out. People show great enthusiasm for me. Still I cannot positively state anything. You will not mention this.

About the manumission of Statius ² and several other ⁴ things I am sorry, of course, but I have now grown quite thick-skinned. I wish you, I may say I pine for you to be here; then I should never want for advice or consolation. But hold yourself in readiness, so that if I call out for you you may fly to my side.

XII. (*AD ATT. II. 19.*)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

I have much to make me anxious, not only in such a public crisis, but in the perils with which I am personally

¹ Compare Letter viii. § 10.

² Compare the next Letter, § 1.

threatened, and they may be counted by the hundred ; yet nothing troubles me more than this manumission of Statius.

‘ What ! when I bid him—well, let bidding be :
But my displeasure—must that go for nought ? ’

I do not know what to do ; though really there is not so much in the matter as people say. But I cannot even get into a rage with people whom I dearly love ; I am only sorry, yes, very sorry. My other troubles are about greater matters. The threats of Clodius and the struggles I see ahead do not affect me much ; in fact, I am assured I could bear them with unimpaired dignity, or step out of their way without mortification. Very likely you will say, ‘ *le siècle du gland est passé* ², ’—‘ enough now of your dignity ; think, an you love me, of your safety. ’ Oh dear me ! why are you not here ? Nothing, I know, would escape you : very likely I am getting *myope*, and am too *passionné pour l’honneur*. Believe me, there never was in this world anything so disgraceful, so abject, so thoroughly loathed with perfect unanimity by men of every order, every shade of opinion, every age, as the present state of things ; more, I solemnly declare to you, than I could wish, not only more than I had expected. Those ‘ friends of the people ’ have now made even men of impartial judgment begin to hiss. Bibulus is lauded to the skies, though why I do not quite know, just as though he were

‘ the one whose wise delay
Restored the fortunes of the day ’.

Pompeius, my hero, has—and this gives me the deepest pain—completely extinguished himself. He cannot count on the voluntary support of any one. I fear they may find it necessary to resort to force. For myself, while I do not

¹ A quotation from Terence, *Phormio*, ii. 1. 2.

² Cicero is alluding apparently to some Greek proverb about men abandoning acorns when they could get better food. The French proverb in the text, which is an almost exact equivalent, comes from Voltaire, *Lett. La Chalotais*.

³ Conington’s *Aeneid*. This is a celebrated line of Ennius on Quintus Fabius Maximus, called the Delayer, because his tactics of always avoiding an encounter exhausted Hannibal’s strength.

attack their cause, for the sake of my old friendship, neither on the other hand can I support it, lest I should seem to be stultifying all my former acts: I go on as I am. The popular feeling is most plainly shown at the theatre and the games; in fact, at the public entertainments leader and followers alike provoked a storm of hisses. At the games of Apollo, Diphilus the actor went out of his way to make an attack on our friend Pompeius.

‘Our tears have bought *the greatness of thy name*’

he was called upon to repeat over and over again; while

‘The time will come those victories thou shalt rue’

he declaimed amid shouts of applause from the whole theatre, and so on to the end of the passage. For the lines are such that one might fancy they were written for the occasion by a personal enemy of Pompeius.

‘If thee nor laws nor precedents restrain,’

with what follows, we had recited amid shouts and uproar⁴. The applause showed no sign of reviving when Caesar entered; but he was followed by the younger Curio, who was cheered as much as Pompeius used to be cheered once, while our country was still free. Caesar was seriously offended. It is rumoured that a letter was despatched post-haste to Pompeius at Capua. They were out of favour with the knights, who stood up to applaud Curio; and political enemies of us all alike. They were supposed to be hostile to the act of Roscius, and even to the corn-law; in fact, there was a regular riot. For my part I had rather that their proposed measures should be silently submitted to, but this I fear will not be allowed; people refuse to put up with things it seems they must put up with. But now you hear only one expression of opinion from everybody, strong in hatred if not in just confidence. Mean- 4

⁴ ‘In Paris, during the hottest period of the Revolution, the reactionists for the most part had it their own way at the theatres.’ Beccaly, Clodius, &c., p. 68. But see *Introductio* to Letter xi.

while, my dear friend Publius is threatening me, to show his hostility. There are troubles impending in which I am sure you will fly to me. I think I can place full reliance in the unbroken rank of all good citizens (including even the moderately good ones), to form which was the work of my consulship. Pompeius shows his regard for me very strongly; at the same time he declares that the fellow will not venture on a word against me: not that in this he wishes to mislead me, but he is himself misled. As Cosconius is dead, I have been asked to fill his place⁵. No doubt they would like me to be in the shoes of a dead man! People would look on me as the basest of creatures, nor could anything be less calculated to secure me even that *abri* against risk you keep insisting on: for as the commissioners are regarded with dislike by the good citizens, I should, without losing my own unpopularity with the bad, be taking other people's also upon my shoulders.

5 Caesar wants me to be on his staff. This is a more respectable way of avoiding the danger; but I am not inclined to shirk it. What is it to be then? My vote is for fighting, but nothing has been finally settled. Again I repeat, 'Oh, that you were here!' but still I will send for you, if it be necessary. What more can I have to say, then? I have just this much, I think—*we are now certain that all is lost*. What is the good of making an *épouvantail*⁶ of the grim truth so long? Still I am only writing this in haste, and 'i' faith, not without some apprehension. Later on I will either tell you plainly if I can get a thoroughly safe person to entrust a letter to; or if I have to write ambiguously, still you will see just as well what I mean. In these letters I shall put Laelius for myself, and Furius for you; all other things too shall be *en mots couverts*. While here I am very

⁵ Gaius Cosconius was a member of the Commission of Twenty for dividing the Campanian lands.

⁶ It is doubtful whether *δακώ* means a hobgoblin as in this rendering, or a vain coy woman, as Suidas explains it, in which case this might be rendered 'coquetting with the truth.'

polite to Caecilius⁷, and pay much attention to him. I hear the edicts of Bibulus have been sent to you. Our friend Pompeius is boiling with rage and vexation about them.

XIII. (AD ATT. II. 24.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

August, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

The true story of the plot described in this letter is almost impossible to discover. One Lucius Vettius, an informer employed by Caesar, told the younger Curio that he had determined to kill Pompeius, and according to one account Caesar also. On being arrested he charged most of the prominent members of the senatorial party, including the consul Bibulus, with complicity in the plot. But in examination he contradicted himself so grossly that he was thrown into prison, and privately strangled, no doubt by the contrivers of the plot, whoever they were. On this point there is a great difference of opinion among authorities. Mommsen and Abeken regard it as an intrigue of the triumvirs to get rid of their strongest opponents, and so do Cicero himself, Suetonius, and Plutarch. Napoleon III (Caesar, i. p. 405), and Mr. Long believe that it was devised by some adherents of the triumvirs without the knowledge of their chiefs, and this Mr. Watson thinks not improbable. Dean Merivale inclines to regard it as a genuine plot of the optimates, which is the view of Dion Cassius and Appian. Mr. Forsyth's opinion is not obvious, but he calls the plot 'unreal.' See Merivale, i. 176; Mommsen, iv. i. 206; Long, iii. 439; Abeken, p. 111; Forsyth, p. 177.

In the letter I gave to Numestius, I entreated you so much to come that nothing could have been more earnest or pressing; to the speed I then urged add even more now if you possibly can. Do not however alarm yourself (I know you well, and cannot forget that to love 'It is to be all made of sighs and tears'¹), for after all the matter is, I hope, likely to turn out not so formidable in the result as it seems in the telling. It seems clear that Vettius—you know him; the man ²

⁷ An uncle of Atticus. Compare Letter i. § 3.

¹ Silvius's sentiment in 'As You Like It,' v. 2. Mr. Tyrrell points out that 'quam sit amor omnis sollicitus atque anxius' is almost certainly a quotation from a play.

who used to be my informer—has promised Caesar to contrive that the younger Curio shall fall under suspicion of plotting. With this object he wormed himself into intimacy with the lad, and after frequent conferences with him, as the evidence proves, went so far as to say that he himself was fully determined to make his slaves attack Pompeius and murder him. Curio reported this to his father, and he to Pompeius; and the matter eventually came before the Senate. Vettius on being put into the box at first denied that he had ever had any meetings by appointment with Curio. Of course this did not last long; very soon he claimed a pledge of indemnity for his evidence, amid cries of ‘No.’ He then gave out that there had been an association of young men headed by Curio, among whom originally had been Aemilius Paulus, Ruintus Caepio (Brutus I mean²), and Lentulus the son of the priest of Jupiter, whose father was aware of it; and that afterwards Gaius Septimius, the secretary of Bibulus, had brought him a dagger from Bibulus. All this was treated as ridiculous (as though Vettius would have had to do without a dagger unless the consul sent him one!), and it was scouted all the more from the fact that on the 13th of May Bibulus had informed Pompeius that he ought to be on his guard against treachery, for which Pompeius had thanked him. Curio the younger on being called rebutted the statements of Vettius; and on that occasion Vettius was discredited mostly from his own assertion that the plot of these young men to make an attack on Pompeius in the Forum at the exhibition of gladiators given by Gabinius was headed by Paulus, who was well known to have been in Macedonia at the time. The decree passed is that Vettius should be thrown into gaol, because by his own confession he had carried arms; any magistrate who had ordered his release should be held an accomplice of treason.

² *Hic*, because Marcus Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, had been adopted by his uncle Quintus Servilius Caepio, but would perhaps not be known to Atticus under that name.

The general impression about the matter on people's minds was that it had been arranged for Vettius to be arrested in the Forum with a dagger, and his slaves, all of them armed, at the same time; that he should then offer to give evidence; and that this would actually have taken place, had not the Curios first given information to Pompeius. Afterwards the decree of the Senate was publicly read. However on the next day, Caesar of all men, who once when praetor had forbidden Quintus Catulus to speak except from below the tribune, now brought Vettius forward actually on to it, thus giving him the privilege of a place which the consul Bibulus could scarcely venture to show himself near. Here he said anything he liked about the State, in a way that might be expected from one who had come there fully primed and tutored. First he excepted the name of Caepio from his remarks, though he had mentioned him by name most emphatically in the Senate, so that it became clear that the night had given an opportunity for some nocturnal intercession³. Next he named people on whom in the Senate he had not cast the least breath of suspicion: Lucullus, from whose house Gaius Fannius (the same who supported the accusation of Clodius) had, he said, been frequently sent to him; and Domitius, whose house had been fixed as the one from which the attack was to be made. He did not mention me by name, but said that a certain eloquent ex-consul, a near neighbour of the consul's, had remarked to him that what we wanted was to find some Servilius Ahala or Brutus⁴. At the very last he added, on being recalled by Vatinius, after the assembly had

³ Brutus's mother, Servilia, was suspected of a *liaison* with Caesar, but the evidence is weak. See Froude, Caesar, p. 481.

⁴ Cicero's house was on the Palatine, and therefore near Caesar's official residence, as Pontiff, in the Sacred Way. Servilius Ahala, master of the horse to Cincinnatus, was the murderer of Spurius Maelius, the popular hero. The Brutus here meant is of course Lucius Brutus who expelled Tarquinius the Second.

been dismissed, that he had heard from Curio that Piso, my son-in-law, was privy to this plot, as also was Laterensis.

4 Vettius is now being charged before Crassus Dives with disturbing the peace, and in the event of being found guilty intends to claim leave to turn informer; and if he succeeds in this, there will probably be more than one prosecution. This I do not exactly disregard, for I am one who makes it a principle to disregard nothing, but do not much fear. People show me the strongest tokens of their good-will, but I am utterly sick of life; everything is so full of every possible kind of trouble. A little while ago I feared a massacre, but this idea was dispelled by the speech of that stout-hearted veteran Quintus Considius⁵. Now the kind of massacre I might have dreaded every day has risen up all of a sudden. In fine, it would be impossible to be more unhappy than I, or happier than Catulus, alike in the glory of his life and in not seeing these evil days. Still, amid all these troubles I keep a good courage and unbroken spirit, and am maintaining my position with dignity and with the greatest vigilance.

5 Pompeius bids me have no fear about Clodius, and professes the greatest regard for me in all his speeches. I long to have you to advise my actions, share my anxieties, and take part in all my thoughts; so, though I have desired Numestius to plead with you for that end, I am just as earnest, nay if possible even more so, myself in imploring you to be sure and make haste to me. I shall feel new life in me when once I have set eyes on you.

⁵ Quintus Considius told Caesar that the empty Senate was due to his method of terrorism, and Caesar took the veteran's rebuke in good part. Plutarch, *Caes.* 14.

XIV. (AD ATT. II. 25.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

A MOST CHARACTERISTIC LETTER.

August, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

In future if I have spoken in praise of any of your friends in a letter to you I should like you to let them know that I have done so. For instance, I wrote to you lately, you know, that Varro had been very kind to me, and you replied that it gave you extreme pleasure; but I should be better pleased to know that you had written to tell him that he is doing all I could wish—not that he really is doing so, but to get him to do it. For, as you are aware, he has a curious disposition,

‘*Dolis instructus et arte Pelasga*’¹.

But I do not forget that we must bear

‘*Quidquid delirant reges*’².

Yet, upon my word, how liberally, how nobly, how eloquently your other friend, Hortensius, extolled me to the skies in speaking of the praetorship of Flaccus, and the crisis of the Allobroges³. I can assure you it would be impossible to speak more affectionately, and enthusiastically, or in a less grudging way. You understand of course that I want you to let him know that I have written this to you. But why should you write, when I suppose you are on your way already, and indeed almost here by now; I have pleaded for this so much in my former letters? I am anxiously looking for you, and anxiously longing, and yet it is not so much I as the cause and the time that are really calling

¹ Aen. ii. 152. The parallel is all the closer because the original is spoken by Andromache of the Spartans, in Euripides, *Androm.* 448.

² Hor. Ep. i. 2. 14. Cicero is alluding to a line, ‘The follies of our lords we must endure,’ Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 393.

³ Flaccus was praetor at the time of Catilina’s conspiracy. The final disclosure came through the envoys of the Allobroges, a Gallic people whose country lay between Lyons and Geneva, to whom overtures had been made.

for you. What can I write to you about these matters except the old story—that nothing is more hopeless than the constitution, nothing more hateful than those whose work all this is. For myself, as far as I believe, and hope, and can ascertain, I am supported by everybody's strongest good-will. So come to me on wings: if you do not set me free from all my troubles, you will at least share them. I write the more briefly because, as I hope, we shall soon be able to meet and discuss anything we like. Farewell.

XV. (AD QUINT. FRATR. I. 2.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS
AT EPHEBUS.

About November, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

Letter xv is politically unimportant, though the fifth section conclusively shows the real popularity of the triumvirs, which Cicero refused to see in Letter xii. It is however a well-known letter, as detailing Cicero's views on the tact required for administration of a province, and as illustrating the hasty and passionate character of his brother. Quintus Cicero, who had married Pomponia, the sister of Atticus, after being praetor for 62 B.C., succeeded Lucius Flaccus as governor of the Roman province of Asia, the capital of which was Ephesus. His administration gave rise apparently to bitter complaints, not so much from any injustice, as from his want of tact, and readiness to act entirely upon impulse. The letter also throws much light on the character of Roman provincial administration; the enormous powers of a governor, amounting nearly to making his own laws; the pressure put upon him by his friends to wrest the law in their interest; and the odium they always endeavoured to excite against him if disappointed, in view of the trial for corruption which generally succeeded a proconsulship.

See Abeken, p. 115; Smith's Dict. Biog., p. 746.

- 1 Statius arrived here on the 25th of October¹. His coming made me uneasy, as you said you would be sure to be plundered by your servants during his absence; so far however as it cut short the curiosity about his return and the crowding to see him, which would be sure to ensue if he left the province in your company without showing himself before,

¹ See Letter xi. § 4; xii. § 1.

I thought it had happened very fortunately; for gossip has now used itself up, and people have often dropped phrases such as being disappointed of seeing some great hero—

‘Forti pectore et armis’;²

and I am glad to think that all this is spending itself in your absence. However your sending him here to clear himself to me at least was totally unnecessary: for in the first place I never suspected him at all, and secondly, though I wrote to you about him, I was not writing my own opinion; but as the interest and safety of all of us when we are in any public character depends not only on what is known, but what is believed about us, I have invariably reported to you what other people were saying, not my own conclusions. And how general, and moreover how serious these remarks were, Statius himself discovered on his arrival. In fact, he happened to be present when some people were actually complaining about him at my house, and was enabled to perceive that the slanders of spiteful individuals were particularly vehement at the mention of him. What however used most to disturb me³ were the rumours I heard of his influence with you being greater than the dignity of your years and respect for your high position ought to allow. Can you guess how many people have interceded with me to give them a good word with Statius; or again, how many times I have heard him myself in conversation drop *par mégarde* expressions like this: ‘I did not approve of it,’ ‘I warned,’ or ‘recommended,’ or ‘prevented’ him? Now, though all this shows the greatest fidelity (which I fully believe, since you are convinced that it is so), yet the mere fact of people’s knowing that one has such an influential freedman or slave is fatal to self-respect. And you may be quite sure of this (for if I ought not either thoughtlessly to report anything, no more ought I to deceive you by suppressing it), that it is Statius who has given a handle for all the slanders of people who

² Aen. iv. 11. Cicero is quoting the words of Polyphemus when disappointed about Odysseus, Od. ix. 513.

were eager to backbite you. Until now all I could see was that there were some people who had a grudge against you for your strict administration; but since you have given him his freedom, I find that the people with a grudge have something to take hold of.

- 4 II. I will now proceed to answer the letters delivered to me by Caesius (whom, as I understand you to wish, I will not fail to assist on every occasion). The first of them is about Zeuxis of Blaudus³. You say that though he is beyond all doubt the murderer of his mother, I have most cordially recommended him to you. With regard to this—and indeed all similar cases—I must ask you to note a few facts, as otherwise you might perhaps wonder that I have become so eager to conciliate the Greeks. Perceiving that the complaints of the Greeks were being allowed too much weight, from the national talent for imposing on people, I took care to pacify in every way I could all whom I heard complaining of you. First I conciliated the people of Dionysopolis, who were particularly bitter, and Hermippus, as being one of their leading men, I attached to me by not only entering into conversation with him, but admitting him to intimacy: I condescended myself to treat Hephaestus of Apamea, and similarly that good-for-nothing scamp Megaristus of Antandros, and Nicias of Smyrna just as much⁴—worthless creatures as they undoubtedly are—with all the courtesy I could manage, even down to Nymphontes of Colophon. Now my object in all this was not any pleasure I take in such people as these, or the nation as a whole—I am sick of their want of principle, their subserviency, their disposition
5 to ignore gratitude for expediency—but when Zeuxis (to return to him) began to talk about his conversation with Cascellius exactly as you describe, I stopped his mouth,

³ A town of Phrygia, and, like all the places mentioned below, in Quintus Cicero's province.

⁴ The repetition of '*ego*' is to point the contrast with the objects of '*complexus*.'

and invited his intimacy. I cannot understand however such vehemence as yours must have been, when you tell me in your letter that you have had two Mysians at Smyrna sewn up in the sack⁵, and, being very anxious to apply similar stern measures in the upper part of your province, wanted, whatever the means, to have Zeuxis inveigled there. Possibly if brought to trial he was not a man it would be right to let go, but surely it was not necessary that he should be enticed and inveigled to trial under false pretences, as you propose; especially as he is a man whom, on the testimony not only of his fellow-citizens but other people too, I find more plainly day by day to be even more eminent if possible than his native town⁶. But, say you, it is always these Greeks I am favouring. What? did not I appease Caecilius in every possible way? And that is a good instance, for what a rage he was in! what temper he showed! In fact, is there any one I ever failed to mollify except Tuscenius, and his case is beyond remedy. Mind you, we still have Catienus hanging over our heads—a worthless and mean-spirited fellow enough, but for all that entitled by his income to equestrian rank. Even him it will be possible to pacify; nor can I blame you for having dealt so severely with his father, as I am perfectly aware you had good reason for so doing; but what could be the good of such a letter as you sent to the man himself; that ‘he was bent on setting up for himself the cross from which you had snatched him once before;’ or that ‘you would take good care that he was stifled and burnt at the stake amid the plaudits of the whole province’? Look again at what you wrote to one Gaius Fabius, whoever he may be—for Catienus shows that letter too to everybody

⁵ By a well-known act of Sulla a parricide was to be sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the sea. Dict. Ant. p. 687.

⁶ The irony of this passage seems extremely pointless. Mr. Tyrrell proposes two conjectures, one of which is ingenious; to read ‘Blandus’ for ‘Blaudus’ (*supra* § 4), and ‘*molliorem*’ here for ‘*nobiliorem*,’ which would give a Ciceronian play of words on the name Blandus.

—how 'it had been reported to you that the kidnapper Licinius with his son, a chick of the old kite, was levying blackmail.' And you proceed to request Fabius to burn father and son alive if possible, but if not, to send them to you, and you would find a law for burning them. Such a letter as this which you wrote in joke to Fabius (if indeed it be yours) has, when any one reads it, a most disagreeable suggestion of ferocity: and if you look back to the advice given in all my letters, you will find that I have merely blamed your bitterness of phrase and hastiness, and possibly now and then a want of due consideration in letters you have despatched. And in matters such as these, if my judgment had more weight with you than your (shall I say?) slightly hasty disposition, or perhaps a certain enjoyment you have in getting into a passion, or a desire for point and to say a thing incisively, there would be absolutely nothing I could regret. Yet can you believe the pain this gives me is trifling when I hear what a reputation Vergilius has, or Gaius Octavius, your nearest neighbour? For if you can rank yourself above your neighbours inland, in Cilicia and Syria, what a thing to boast of!⁷ And here is the sting of it, that while the people I have mentioned are not superior to you in purity of administration, they are superior all the same in the art of winning good-will: yet they know nothing of Xenophon's Cyrus or Agesilaus; in whose mouths, though both were kings with absolute power, no one ever heard an ill-tempered word.

III. But as I have from the first been pressing this upon your consideration, I am well aware how much success I have already had. Now however on the eve of your departure, which I suppose you are just making, leave behind you, I entreat, as pleasant a recollection of yourself as possible. Your successor is a man of most courteous manners; all your other qualities will be greatly missed when he comes. In

⁷ Vergilius was pro-praetor of Sicily, Octavius of Macedonia. The governors of Cilicia and Syria at this period are uncertain. See Mr. Watson's note.

issuing your instructions, as I have often mentioned in my letters, you have shown yourself too accessible to entreaties. Get rid, if you possibly can, of any that are unjust, get rid of what are startling, and get rid of what are inconsistent. Statius has explained to me that it is usual for instructions to be brought to you ready written; that they are read by him, and if they are illegal he informs you of it; but that before he came to you there was no sifting of the correspondence; to which fact he attributes the circulation of certain selected despatches which provoked so much unfavourable criticism. About matters of this kind I will not, just now ⁹ at any rate, give you any warning; it is too late, and you may recollect that on various occasions I have freely given you very strong advice. To repeat however what I charged Theopompus to tell you when I was warned of it by him, be sure and see that people who are really your friends—this is easy enough—destroy all papers of this kind; first, those that are illegal; secondly, inconsistent with others; thirdly, written in bad taste, or otherwise startling; lastly, any that contain insulting expressions about anybody. Mind, I do not suppose that these faults are really as great as I am told; only if through pressure of work they have been little noted, take the opportunity now of revising and correcting them. I have read a letter of which I cannot approve, said to have been written by your confidential man⁸ Sulla on his own authority; several I have seen which are written in an angry tone. But ¹⁰ this is just *à propos* about your missives: for while I was on this very page, in came Lucius Flavius the praetor-elect, a very great friend of mine, who told me you had sent instructions to his agents, which appeared to me most unjust; forbidding them to take any part of the property of the late Octavius Naso, to which Flavius succeeds, before paying the

⁸ Lit. *nomenclator*, an attendant who informed his master of the names of the people he met, it being at Rome a most important attention that a man should be addressed by name. Usually of course this was a confidential servant.

claim of Gaius Fundanius ; and that you had sent a similar one to the authorities at Apollonis, not to allow the property which had belonged to Octavius to be touched till the debt had been paid to Fundanius. It seems to me impossible this can be true ; it is so utterly unlike your judgment. Not let the heir touch the property ! What if he denies the debt ? What if he does not owe it all ? In fact, is it usual for the praetor to decide whether a debt is owing or not ? Of course I wish well to Fundanius, do I not ? Why, am I not a friend of his, and one who would pity his case ? No one can do so more than I ; but the force of justice is so great in some cases as to leave no room for personal feeling. Moreover Flavius told me that in the instructions, which he declared to be yours, you had stated that the alternative was whether you should thank them for having been your friends, or
11 make it unpleasant for them for being your enemies. I need scarcely say that he took this very ill, and complained most bitterly to me, and implored me to write to you very strongly about it. This I am now doing, and I beg you over and over again, with all the earnestness I can, first to concede the point to Flavius's agent about taking possession of the property ; and secondly, not to send any further instructions to the people at Apollonis which Flavius can object to. You will do all this I am sure, if not for the sake of Flavius only, yet at least for Pompeius. Upon my honour, I do not like you to think that I am gaining credit for liberality myself out of your hard dealing towards this man ; but I entreat you to see to it in person that some official instructions are left behind you on the point, and some record in the form of a decree or memorandum of your own, which may be calculated to secure the rights of Flavius in this case. For the poor man, who is most attentive to me, and most tenacious of his rights and position, is much pained to find that neither friendship nor equity availed him at all with you : and yet, if I am not mistaken, both Pompeius and Caesar once recommended Flavius to your good offices,

and Flavius had himself written to you, as I certainly did. For these reasons if there is anything you would feel you ought to do for me, when I asked, let this be it. If you love me do not fail in this, and spare no pains till you have attained the end of filling Flavius with the deepest gratitude both to yourself and to me. In putting this request to you I could not possibly plead more earnestly.

IV. What you tell me about Hermia has, I give you my 12 word, caused me much pain. I wrote you a letter which I own was not quite in a brotherly spirit; but I wrote it in a fit of temper when I was stung by the speech of Diodotus, Lucullus's freedman, immediately after I had heard about the compact; and I really wanted to recall it. Such a letter, if not a brotherly one, you ought as a brother to forgive.

With regard to Censorinus, Antonius, Scaevola, and the 13 Cassii, it gives me the greatest pleasure to find that you are as popular with them as you say you are. Everything else in that same letter of yours was too bitter for my taste; your '*nunquam navem nisi rectam*'⁹, and '*mors ultima linea*.' You will find that all this is too tragic for the occasion¹⁰; my reproofs had affection for you between every line. They are not exactly to go for nothing; but still they are very moderate, not to say inadequate. For my own part, I should not have thought you deserved even the smallest blame in any single thing, so purely blameless is your conduct, were it not that we have many enemies. Whatever I have said to you in my letters that is in any degree couched in a tone of admonition or censure I have said simply from the watchfulness of my anxiety on your behalf, which

⁹ This is Seneca's version (Ep. 85) of the Greek proverb quoted by Cicero, which is explained as the boast of a sailor in a storm that he will steer his good ship well to the last. The other quotation is from Prometheus Vinculus, l. 769, meaning that death once for all is better than continued pain. The parallel here given is from Horace, Ep. i. 16. 79.

¹⁰ Mr. Parry suggests (not improbably) '*majora ista erant*.'

is still possessing me and likely to continue; nor shall I ever give up entreating you to adopt the same course.

- 14 Attalus of Hypaepæ¹¹ has been pleading with me for you not to prevent his paying out of the public funds the money that was voted for the statue of Quintus Publicius. In regard to this I should not only ask as a favour, but should strongly recommend you not to allow, as far as you are concerned, any privileges of such a man, and one so useful to our side, to be cut down or put a stop to.

By the way, you know Licinius, the slave of my friend Aesopus [the tragedian]. Well, he has run away. He passed as a free man with Patron the Epicurean philosopher at Athens, and went from thence into Asia. Sometime afterwards a certain Plato of Sardis, who spends much of his time at Athens, happened to be at Athens at the very time of Licinius's arrival there; and after discovering him to be a fugitive slave by a letter from Aesopus, had the rascal arrested, and thrown into prison at Ephesus, but whether into the public gaol or a private mill I have not been able quite to make out from his letter. Whichever it is, as he is at Ephesus, I should like you to hunt out the man, and to be quite sure to bring him if necessary in your own company. Do not mind whether he is worth it (in fact, one who is worthless cannot be worth much); but Aesopus is so pained at the outrageous audacity of his slave, that you could not lay him under any greater obligation than if you could help in his recovery.

- 15 V. Now I must tell you what you are most longing to hear about. We have utterly lost our constitution: so much so that Gaius Cato, a young man of no judgment, but still a Roman and a Cato, scarcely escaped with his life because, when he wanted to impeach Gabinius for bribery and the praetors for several days had refused him any access to or communication with themselves, he from a public platform called Pompeius

¹¹ A town of Lydia.

a dictator in all but law. He had the narrowest escape one ever saw of being murdered. From this you can see what must be the state of the Republic. Still it seems that ¹⁰ there will not be wanting numbers in our cause; it is quite astonishing how people profess their adherence, and offer their services, or make promises. For my own part indeed I have not only strong hopes, but more confidence than I had before—hopes that we shall prevail in the end, and confidence that while the constitution lasts at all I need not even fear any disaster. Still this is how the case stands: if I am impeached in course of law all Italy will flock to my aid, so that I shall come off with tenfold glory; if, on the other hand, force is to be the order of the day, I hope the devotion not only of friends but even of personal strangers will give me force in return to resist. Every one is promising to place not only himself, but his friends, dependants, freedmen and slaves, and (to crown all) his money at my disposal. My old phalanx of patriots is fired with zeal and love for me: if there are any who before were cold or lukewarm through hatred of these tyrants, they now rally to the good cause. Pompeius makes every promise, and so does Caesar. I believe them of course, so far as that does not require me to abate a jot of my preparations. The incoming tribunes are friendly to me; the consuls seem excellently disposed ¹²; among the praetors I have some warm friends as well as most energetic patriots, such as Domitius, Nigidius, Memmius, and Lentulus: there are other sound people too, but these are the most notable. So you may have good heart and good hope. I will let you know at frequent intervals about such matters as may occur from day to day.

¹² The consuls-elect were Lucius Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius, both of whom disappointed Cicero's expectations.

XVI. (AD ATT. III. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT THESSALONICA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August 17, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

At last the long-expected attack of Clodius, alluded to in the preceding four letters, fell upon Cicero. As has been already remarked in the Introduction to Letter ix, this attack is generally represented as arising simply from the personal animosity of Clodius, but that is a view which cannot possibly be sustained. Prof. Bealy (*Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, p. 42) undertakes to show 'that the lower orders of Rome exhibited a consistent and determined hostility to the man who had hunted their hero to death; and that the prime agent in a most just retribution was not Clodius, but Caesar.' And similarly Mommsen speaks of Clodius 'acting on the instructions he had received.' That Caesar would have been willing enough to shield Cicero from any extreme severity, provided he would retire for some period from Rome (just as Cato was entrusted with the annexation of Cyprus), appears clearly enough from his offers of an honorary embassy, and even of the post of one of his own *legati* (Letter xi. § 3; xii. § 5). No less characteristically Pompeius made warm professions of friendship, without extending any protection at all (Letter xii. § 4; xiii. § 5).

In March a resolution was proposed by Clodius, now a tribune of the people, in the Assembly, that 'any one who had put Roman citizens to death without trial should be forbidden fire and water,' or, in other words, outlawed. This caused great consternation to the senatorial party, large numbers of whom put on mourning. Though Cicero was not attacked by name, the resolution was obviously aimed at him for his conduct in the conspiracy of Catilina (Introduction to Letter iii; compare p. 35, note on Rabirius); and acting on the advice of a majority of his friends, which he afterwards deplored, he withdrew from Rome, after vainly imploring aid from Pompeius. On the same day Clodius carried a law banishing Cicero by name, but allowing him to live anywhere 400 miles from Rome. Cicero sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, and went thence to Thessalonica, where Gnaeus Plancius was quaestor; declining an invitation to stay at the estate of Atticus in Epirus, which he thought unsafe. Cicero's house on the Palatine was burned down by the mob at once, and on its site Clodius dedicated a temple to Liberty, to render its recovery impossible.

The remaining letters of Part I. are all written by Cicero during his exile from Thessalonica or Dyrrachium. They consist principally of lamentations for which he has been somewhat severely censured even by his most partial biographers, coupled with entreaties to hurry the steps that were being taken by his friends to effect a repeal of the act of Clodius.

See Bealy, *essay on Clodius*; Mommsen, *iv.* 1. 206-209; Merivale, *i.* 179-190; Long, *iv.* ch. 4; Abeken, pp. 121-141; Forsyth, *c.* 12.

On the 13th of August I received four letters from you : 1 one to reproach me for want of firmness ; a second, in which you mention that Crassus's freedman has told you how worn and thin I look with anxiety ; a third, describing proceedings in the Senate ; and a fourth on a point which you tell me you have heard Varro corroborate, namely, the inclinations of Pompeius. My answer to the first is this. It 2 is true, I do grieve, but so far from letting this impair my resolution it is itself a cause of grief to me that with such an unshaken purpose I can neither find scope nor sympathy for it. For if you cannot bear merely my absence without pain, what, think you, must it be to me, to be parted from you and everybody ? And if you, enjoying all your rights, feel my absence, how much, think you, must I be longing for those very rights ? I am loath to recount all that I have been robbed of, not only because it will not be new to you, but I shrink from laying bare the old smart. This only I repeat : never yet did man fall from such high estate, or unto such depths of misery. Time however, so far from bringing balm to this pain, in fact inflames it ; for while all other sorrows are mellowed by age, this alone can only grow keener day by day as one thinks of the misery of the present, and looks back on the days that are past. For what I miss is not merely the blessings and the friends I once had, but my very self. What indeed is left of me ?— but I will not thus distress your mind with my lamentations, or be perpetually chafing my own wounds.

Now you offer a defence for the people that I said were jealous of me, and include Cato among them. The truth is, that for my part, so utterly free do I think him from such baseness, I bitterly regret having trusted the pretended friendship of others more than his sturdy fidelity. As to the rest whom you defend, they ought to be clear in my eyes if they are in yours. But this discussion is now out of date. As to 3 Crassus's freedman, he, I dare say, did not speak a word of truth. You describe the debate in the Senate as satisfactory.

But how about Curio,—can it be that he has not read that speech (though how it got published I cannot imagine)? Axius however in his letter to me about the proceedings of the very same day is not so eulogistic of Curio. But it is possible that he passes over something: you of course would not have told me anything but what was the fact. What Varro said gives me some hopes of Caesar, and I only wish Varro could be got to throw himself into our cause. Surely if he would do it of his own accord he would be
 4 yet more likely if you pressed him. For myself, if heaven ever restore me to you and my country, I will indeed try hard that you above all my friends may have cause to rejoice at it; and the claims of duty and affection, which I must acknowledge have not been sufficiently manifested hitherto, I will so discharge that you shall think me restored to you as much as to my brother and my family. If I have ever done you wrong,—nay, what I ought to say is, for the wrong I have done you, forgive me; for it is myself I have wronged far more deeply. Now I am not writing all this as if I were not aware how great is the grief you feel at my downfall, but assuredly if the affection you have and had for me were, and always had been, nothing but my due¹, you would never have allowed me to lack the help of that sound advice of which you had such overflowing wealth, nor would you have allowed me to be deluded into believing that it was best for us to let that act about guilds² be carried. But in

¹ There is no need with Boot to alter the text to '*tantum amorem re exhibuisse*.' A real, if subtle, distinction is in the thought. Cicero complains that Atticus has taken all the pains to advise him rightly that he was *bound* to do under the circumstances, but not all that he *would* have done had he and not Cicero been the gainer by their friendship. However undeserved this complaint it is at least intelligible, and in accordance with the tone of the whole letter. This view, I now find, has the support of Mr. Tyrrell.

² Clodius had 're-established the "street-clubs" (*collegia compitalicia*), at that time abolished, which were nothing else than a formal organisation—subdivided according to the streets, and with an almost military arrangement—of the whole free or slave proletariat of the capital.' Mommsen, iv. 2. 296.

my trouble you only gave me tears as a tribute of affection ; and that was all that I did for myself. What I ought to have earned by a real claim upon you, that night and day you should be thinking 'what will it be best for him to do?' has all been thrown away, by my own wrongdoing, not by yours. But had there been a soul—I do not mean only you, but any one—to hold me back from my cowardly resolution when I was upset by the ungenerous reply of Pompeius (and this you were the one man most capable of doing), I should either have fallen without disgrace, or lived to be triumphant at this day. You will bear with me thus far ; for it is myself I am accusing much more deeply of us two, and you only afterwards as being my second self ; and then of course I should like to find somebody to share the blame with. Then too, if I do get restored, I shall come to see that our common omissions were hardly even so great as this implies, and am quite sure that I shall be dear to you for the kindness you have shown, since I am not to be so for any you have received.

The suggestion you mention as arising from your conver- 5
sation with Culleo about a private bill has something in it ; but a formal repeal is far more desirable. For if nobody means to oppose, what can be more conclusive ? If, on the other hand, there is any one disposed to prevent its passing, he will be sure also to veto a decree of the Senate. Nor is there any need to repeal anything else ; for the first of the two laws did not affect me at all, and if we had only consented when it was first proposed to give it a general support or to disregard it, which was all that it deserved, it could not possibly have hurt us a whit. Here it was that for the first time my judgment failed, nay, even stood in my way. How blind, yes blind, we must have been for putting on mourning, and imploring the aid of the people, always a mischievous step to take, unless indeed they had begun to attack me by name. But I keep harping on the past. Still it is for this reason, to prevent your meddling, if any step is taken,

with the law above mentioned, which has many popular provisions. But it is foolish for me to be advising you about what you are to do, and how to do it; only I wish to heaven something could be done! Your letters, I fancy, keep back a good deal, lest I should be too much overwhelmed with despair. For what is there that you see possible to be done, and how? Can we count on the Senate? Why you yourself wrote to me that Clodius had affixed to the door of the House a certain section of his law, 'that it be illegal to make any motion or speak upon the point.' How comes it then that Domitius announced his intention of making a motion; or, again, how is it that when the people you mention were both discussing the matter and calling for it to be put to the vote, Clodius kept silence? On the other hand, if we are to trust to the popular assembly, will that be possible without securing the unanimous consent of the tribunes? What about my property? What about my house? Can it be restored, or if it cannot, how can I be? Unless you can see some way out of these things, what hope can you hold out to me? Or if you have no hope, what to me is life itself? I am therefore waiting at Thessalonica for the Gazette of the 1st of August, according to which I must determine whether I will retire to your estate in the country, where I can avoid seeing anybody whom I do not want to, while, as you urge, I can see you, and be at hand if there is anything to be done (and this course I understand is what you as well as my brother would advise),⁶ or whether I will go to Cyzicus⁷. Now, my dear Pomponius, since you would not give me any of your good advice to help me, either because you thought I was quite capable of judging for myself, or from the idea that you were only bound to be ready when appealed to: since I have been betrayed, inveigled, forced into a snare; have let all my strongest defences be taken; have put aside and ignored

⁶ An important free city on the south side of the Sea of Marmora.

Italy, when she was all alert in my defence; and have given up myself and my dearest ones to my foes, while you looked on without a word, though if you were not more keensighted than I, you were at least less under the influence of fear, I pray you, wherever you have an opportunity, cheer up my friends when they despond, and be in this at least of some service to me. If however all ways are blocked, be sure to let me know the truth, and on no account any longer try to shame me into action or console me out of mere politeness. It is not your good faith that I am blaming; were it so it would not be your roof above all others I should choose for a refuge. No, it is my own blindness I blame, in thinking myself loved by you as much as heart could wish. Had this been so you would have shown no less fidelity, but increased anxiety: assuredly you would have held me back when I was flinging myself upon destruction; and then you would not have had to labour as you are now doing to repair this shattered wreck. Be **8** sure therefore to let me know everything about which you are clear and certain; and help me, as indeed you are doing, to be a man again, since I dare not say to be what I was once, or once had it in my power to become; and remember that in this letter it is not on you but on myself I have been throwing the blame.

If there should be any people to whom letters ought to be sent as though they came from me⁴, I wish you would write them and see that they are dispatched. Aug. 17.

⁴ *Meo nomine* = purporting to come from me (e.g. Cicero Bruto Sal.), and therefore 'on my account.' Thus the two explanations which Mr. Watson gives are really identical. If the seal was with Terentia there would be no possibility of detection, as letters were usually dictated to an amanuensis, and the seal therefore corresponded to our signature. Compare Letter lxxxi. § 2.

XVII. (AD FAM. XIV. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT THESSALONICA TO HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN
AT ROME.

Oct. 5, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

*With Tullius' love to his Terentia, his dear little Tullia, and
his Cicero.*

- 1 I hope you will never think that I write longer letters to other people, unless it so happens that any one has written to me about a number of matters that seem to require an answer. In fact, I have nothing to say, nor is there anything just now that I find more difficult. But to you and my dear little girl I cannot write without shedding many tears, when I picture you to myself as plunged in the deepest affliction, whom my dearest wish has been to see perfectly happy; and this I ought to have secured for you; yes, and I would have secured, but for our being all so faint-hearted.
- 2 I am most grateful to our friend Piso for his kind services. I did my best to press that he would not forget you when I was writing to him; and have now thanked him as in duty bound. I gather that you think there is hope of the new tribunes; that will be a safe thing to depend on, if we may on the professions of Pompeius, but I have my fears of Crassus. It is true I see that everything on your part is done both bravely and lovingly, nor does that surprise me, but what pains me is that it should be my fate to expose you to such severe suffering to relieve my own: for Publius Valerius, who has been most attentive, wrote me word, and it cost me many tears in the reading, how you had been forced to go from the temple of Vesta to the Valerian office¹. Alas, my

¹ Terentia had probably taken refuge at the temple or rather convent of Vesta, as she had a half-sister among the Vestal Virgins, the Fabia who was tried and acquitted for an intrigue with Catilina. It is uncertain whether

light, my love, whom all used once to look up to for relief!—that you, my Terentia, should be treated thus; that you should be thus plunged in tears and misery, and all through my fault! I have indeed preserved others, only for me and mine to perish.

As to what you say about our house—or rather its site³—I for my part shall consider my restoration to be complete only when I find that that has been restored to me. But these things are not in our hands: what troubles me is, that in the outlay which must be incurred you, unhappy and impoverished as you are, must necessarily share. However, if we succeed in our object I shall recover everything; but then if ill-fortune continues to persecute us, are you, my poor dear, to be allowed to throw away what you may have saved from the wreck? As to my expenses, I entreat you, my dearest life, to let other people, who can do so perfectly if they will, relieve you; and be sure as you love me not to let your anxiety injure your health, which you know is so delicate². Night and day you are always before my eyes: I can see you making every exertion on my behalf, and I fear you may not be able to bear it. But I know well that all our hopes are in you; so be very careful of your health, that we may be successful in what you hope and are working for.

As far as I know there is nobody I ought to write to⁴ except those who write to me, or those whom you mention to me in your letters. Since you prefer it I will not move any

Tabula Valeria means a money-lender's office, where Terentia had been obliged to borrow, or a court where she was forced to give security. Mr. Tyrrell thinks it was to make some declaration before a banker about her husband's estate. According to a Scholiast on Cic. Vatin. ix. 21, where the word recurs, it was a place near the Curia Hostilia, so called from a picture of the naval battle of Marcus Valerius Messalla against Hiero in 264 B.C. Perhaps too Cicero, with his inveterate love of playing upon words, is alluding to the name of his informant.

³ Yet Terentia is said by Pliny and Valerius Maximus to have lived to the age of 103, and Cicero (who afterwards divorced her) complained on his return to Atticus that she had neglected him and Tullia. Has the passage a touch of sarcasm?

further from here, but I hope you will write to me as often as possible, especially if we have any surer grounds for hoping. Good bye, my darlings, good bye.

Thessalonica, Oct. 5.

XVIII. (AD FAM. XIV. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT DYRRACHIUM¹ TO HIS WIFE AND FAMILY
AT ROME.

Nov. 25, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

With Tullius' love, hoping his Terentia, his little Tullia, and his Cicero are all well.

- 1 I learn by the letters of several people and the talk of everybody that your courage and endurance are simply wonderful, and that no troubles of body or mind can exhaust your energy. How unhappy I am to think that with all your courage and devotion, your virtues and gentleness, you should have fallen into such misfortunes for me! And my sweet Tullia too, that she who was once so proud of her father should have to undergo such troubles all for him! And what shall I say about my Cicero? Ever since his years of discretion began he has been made to feel only the keenest bitterness of sorrow. Now could I but think, as you tell me, that all this comes in the natural course of things, I could bear it with a little more ease. But it has been brought about entirely by my own fault, for thinking myself loved by those who were my jealous rivals, and turning from those who
- 2 wanted to be friendly. Yet had I but used my own judgment, and not let the advice of friends who were either weak or perfidious weigh so much with me, we might now be living in perfect happiness. As it is, since my friends encourage me to hope, I will take care not to let my health undo you

¹ This letter, except the postscript, seems to have been written at Thessalonica, but sent from Dyrrachium. This city, the Greek Epidamnus, is now called Durazzo, and is in Albania.

good work. I quite understand what a task it is, and how much easier it had been never to leave my home than to get back there again; still if we are sure of all the tribunes, and of Lentulus (supposing him to be as zealous as he seems), certainly if we are sure of Pompeius as well, and Caesar too, the case cannot be desperate. About our slaves we will let it be as you tell me your friends advise. As to this place, it is true it has only just got clear of an epidemic, but I escaped infection while it lasted. Plancius, who has been exceedingly kind, presses me to stay with him, and will not part with me yet. My own wish was to be in some more out of the way place in Epirus, where Hispo and his soldiers would not be likely to come, but Plancius will not yet hear of my going; he hopes he may yet manage to return to Italy himself when I do. If I should ever see that day, and once more return to your arms, and feel that I was restored to you and to myself, I should admit that both your loyalty and mine had been abundantly repaid. Piso's kindness, constancy, and affection are beyond all description. I only hope he may reap just satisfaction from it—glory I feel certain he will. As to Quintus, I make no complaint of you, but you are the very two people I should most wish to see living in harmony, especially since there are none too many of you left me². I have thanked the people you wanted me to, and mentioned that my information came from you. As to the block of houses, my dear Terentia, which you tell me you mean to sell—why, good heavens! what *is* to be done! Oh, what troubles I have to bear! And if misfortune continues to persecute us what will become of our poor boy? I cannot continue to write for the rising flood of tears; nor would I wish to betray you into the same emotion. All I can say is, that if our friends act up to their bounden duty we shall not want for money; if they do not, you will not be able to succeed only with your own. Let our unhappy fortunes,

² Compare Letter xx. § 8.

I entreat you, be a warning to us not to ruin our boy, who is ruined enough already. If he only has something to save him from absolute want, a fair share of talent and a fair share of luck will be all that is necessary to win anything else. Do not neglect your health, and send me messengers with letters to let me know what goes on, and how you yourselves are faring. My suspense in any case cannot now be long. Give my love to my little Tullia and my Cicero.

Dyrrachium, Nov. 26.

7 P.S.—I have moved to Dyrrachium because it is not only a free city, but very much in my interest, and quite near to Italy; but if the bustle of the place proves an annoyance I shall betake myself elsewhere and give you notice.

XIX. (AD ATT. III. 23.)

FROM CICERO AT DYRRACHIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Nov. 29, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

1 On the 27th of November three letters came to hand from you. In the first, which was dated Oct. 25, you encourage me to wait resolutely for the month of January, and tell me fully about everything that is calculated to raise one's hopes—how zealous is Lentulus, how friendly is Metellus, and how Pompeius seems inclined to side. The second letter (contrary to your usual practice) is not dated, though you indicate the time clearly enough when you mention that it was written on the same day as the publication of the proposal of the eight tribunes (that is, of course, Oct. 29), and tell me how far that publication is in your opinion to our advantage. Well, with regard to this, if you find that my hopes of return and this proposal are alike already desperate, I can only hope that, like a dear good friend, you will think all the trouble I am going to waste a fitter object for pity than ridicule. If on the other hand there is any hope to speak of, please take all pains to secure more watchful support from the magistrates on our side.

Now the proposed bill of the former tribunes comprised ² three heads: one dealing with my recall, which was carelessly worded, as it provides for the restoration of nothing except my civil rights and rank, and that is of course much considering my misfortunes, but you were aware what ought to have been secured, and the way to do it. The second head is only the ordinary form of indemnity, 'if the carrying out of this act involve a breach of others,' &c. As to the third head, my dear Pomponius, find out who procured its insertion, and why he did so. You are aware of course that Clodius added these sanctions to his act to make it all but, if not quite, impossible for either Senate or people to repeal it. But you see that the sanctions of such laws as have to be repealed never are regarded; for otherwise scarcely any could be repealed: in fact, there is hardly a single one that does not hedge itself round with all possible obstacles in the way of repeal. But when an act is repealed, that provision is itself swept away with it, whatever be the method that we have to adopt for the repeal of the former. Though this is un- ³ doubtedly the case, as has always been maintained both in theory and practice, the eight tribunes on our side have inserted this clause: 'If there be anything contained in this act, which by any laws or decrees of the people (that means the act of Clodius) it is or has been unlawful to promulgate, abrogate, amend, or supersede, without incurring penalty, and renders liable thereon to fine and penalty whosoever has promulgated or repealed it, this act is to be considered so far void.' Moreover so far as those tribunes ⁴ were concerned this had no power for harm, for there was no law agreed to by them in their corporate capacity to bind them, which gives one the more reason for suspecting foul play in their inserting a clause immaterial to themselves, but at the same time prejudicial to me; so that the new tribunes (if they were at all inclined to be timid) would think it far more necessary for them than for their predecessors to insist on the clause. Nor has this been overlooked by Clodius, for

he publicly stated on the 3rd of November that by this clause the powers of the tribunes elect were limited. But, as you are well aware, there is not a single law which includes a clause of this kind; though were it necessary it would be found in all where a repeal is involved. I should like you to ascertain how this came to escape Ninnius or the rest of them, and who proposed its introduction; and also how it comes about that while eight tribunes were not deterred from proposing a decree about me—and this must have been because they thought the clause above mentioned need not be regarded—these very same men are so cautious about a repeal as to fear a responsibility which does not affect them at all, while even those who are legally liable are not obliged to take any notice of it. Certainly I should not wish the new tribunes to propose such a clause as that, but still let them carry something, whatever it be: I shall be quite satisfied with the single paragraph that will restore me, if only the business can be done with. I have felt ashamed for some time of writing so much about it, being afraid of your reading this when the matter is past hope, so that my pains about it would seem as pathetic to you, as amusing to other people. But if there is anything still to hope for, do look into the law which Visellius has drawn up for Fadius Gallus to propose¹. That satisfies me thoroughly, while our friend Sestius's, which you say you approve of, does not.

- 5 The third letter is one dated Nov. 12, in which you explain with equal judgment and care the causes which in your opinion delay the matter, touching Crassus, Pompeius, and the rest of them. This makes me entreat you that, if there is the slightest hope of the matter being settled once for all by the determination of the better citizens, by the weight

¹ Visellius, a cousin of Cicero, was a leading jurisconsult or chamber counsel, who drew up in legal form a bill for his recall, to be proposed by the tribune Titus Fadius Gallus. This proposal Cicero preferred to the one of his friend Publius Sestius, another of the tribunes, which did not mention him by name, but simply repealed the abstract resolution of Clodius.

of authority, or by collecting an imposing force, you will make every effort to break through the obstacles at a single blow, not only zealously exerting yourself, but rousing others to the effort. But if (as I see too clearly that you forbode as well as I) there is no hope, I beseech and adjure you to turn your affection to my brother Quintus, unhappy man, whom I have so unhappily dragged down with me ; and stay him from any hasty resolution that might harm your sister's son. Protect with all your power my Cicero, for whom, poor boy, I leave nothing but the odium and ignominy of my name ; and be by your kindness the stay of Terentia, who has been afflicted beyond the lot of women. For myself, I intend to start for Epirus as soon as I have received intelligence of the first days' proceedings. I wish you would write me in your next letter how the first act promises. Nov. 29.

PART II.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.

PART II.

FROM CICERO'S RETURN FROM EXILE (AUG. 4, 57 B.C.) TO THE
OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN CAESAR AND POM-
PEIUS (END OF 50 B.C.)

XX. (AD ATT. IV. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

September, 697 A.V.C. (57 B.C.)

Cicero's exile lasted sixteen months only. The consuls for the new year were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, a warm friend of Cicero, to whom many of the most important letters in this part are addressed, and Quintus Metellus Nepos, with whom Cicero had had a quarrel (Letters iv, v), but who was now quite willing to support his recall under orders from Pompeius. Of the ten tribunes, among whom was Milo, the counterpart of Clodius in the senatorial party, eight were in his favour. Caesar was absent in Gaul, and perhaps considered that the humiliation of Cicero (from which as we have seen (Introduction to Letter xvi) he had wished partially to shield him) was now sufficient. Pompeius, finding the supreme power slipping from his grasp, and having been insulted by Clodius, was now making overtures to the Senate, which of course demanded Cicero's recall, as a step towards undoing the defeat it had suffered from the people. Accordingly various proposals were made both in the Senate and the popular assembly for the repeal of Clodius's bill. Some of these appear to have been passed by the Senate more than once, but frustrated by the interposition of the tribunitial veto. Those in the popular assembly caused riots which were headed by Clodius. Finding it impossible to force a bill through by ordinary means, the Senate summoned the Italian voters from the municipal towns, who were almost wholly inclined to the senatorial party; and thus Cicero's recall was finally sanctioned on August 4. Cicero left Dyrrachium for Brundisium the same day, and travelled to Rome amid great demonstrations from the now triumphant party, which were clearly intended as an answer to the popular ones displayed at his downfall. His first act was to show his gratitude to the Senate by a

speech of thanks; his second to the regents by proposing to invest Pompeius for five years with the supreme control of the supplies for the capital, and the power of nominating fifteen officers to assist him.

Mommsen, *iv.* 2. 293-305; Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, 72-81; Merivale, *i.* 333-347; Long, *iv.* ch. 5; Abeken, 153-158; Forsyth, 194-207.

- 1 As soon as ever I got to Rome and found some one to whom I could safely entrust a letter to you, I thought my first act ought to be to write my thanks to you, since I cannot express them in person, for my happy return. For I had discovered—to tell the truth—that you in advising me had been just as little resolute and longsighted as I had myself, and that it was owing to my deference to your advice that I had been over-anxious about risking my personal safety; while at the same time, though at first you had shared in my mistake, or, as I ought rather to call it, my infatuation, and sympathised with my false alarm, it was you who most bitterly felt our separation, and contributed such untiring zeal and persevering diligence towards effecting my return. And so I may now tell
- 2 you, with perfect truth, that even in all my unbounded happiness and the delight of these congratulations I am receiving, there was just one thing wanting to complete the sum of my pleasure—the opportunity of seeing, or better still, of embracing my dear friend. Let me but once have you back, and if ever again I let you go—nay if I do not also exact to the full all arrears of delight in your sweet companionship for the past—I shall assuredly think myself scarcely deserving of this return of Fortune.
- 3 So far as I have yet seen about my political position I have recovered all that I thought it would be very difficult to regain—all my old reputation at the Bar, my authority in the Senate, and my influence among right-thinking people; more than I had ever looked forward to. About my property, however, I am in serious trouble, for you know what ravages it has suffered, and how it has melted away by being plundered right and left; and I want the help, not so much of your purse, which I count as my own, as of

your advice for getting together and securing such remnants as are left me.

Next, though I may assume that your friends have written 4 to you about everything, or perhaps it has even been brought to your ears by some messenger or by a common report, still I will just mention briefly the points that I take it you are most eager to learn from myself. I started from Dyrrachium on the 4th of August—the very day that the law about me was carried. I got to Brundisium on the 5th: there I found my darling Tullia ready to meet me, and that on her own birthday, which as it happened was also the anniversary of the foundation of Brundisium as a colony, and of the temple of Salvation near you¹; which coincidence being noticed by the good people of Brundisium was hailed with much rejoicing. On the 8th of August [being still at Brundisium²] I learnt by a letter from Quintus that the law had been carried in the House of Centuries with astonishing enthusiasm of all ranks and ages, by an enormous assembly of people from all Italy. Then, after receiving high honour from the principal people of Brundisium, I could not pursue my journey without deputations from every place meeting me with congratulations. When I 5 came near the city this went so far that not a soul of any rank who was known to my attendant failed to come and meet me, except such enemies as found it impossible either to conceal or deny the fact [of their hostility]. On my arriving at the Capuan gate the steps of the temples were crowded with the lower classes, and after they had expressed their congratulations by shouts of applause, a similar crowd attended me with like applause up to the Capitol, and both in the Forum and the Capitol itself the crowd was enormous. The next day (it was the 5th of September) I expressed my thanks to the Senate.

¹ On the Quirinal, near the present Royal Palace, and therefore near the town-house of Atticus.

² The subjunctive *essem* (if the clause be genuine; it is omitted by Boot) implies that Cicero did not miss the letter owing to his not having left Brundisium.

6 Two days after that, bread being then exceedingly dear, as the people were hurrying in crowds, first to the theatre, and then to the Senate, a cry was raised at the instigation of Clodius that the dearth of corn was all brought about by me. Just at that time the Senate had been summoned to discuss the question of supplies, and Pompeius was singled out by the voice not only of the mob but of the better class of people to undertake the administration of them (as indeed he was himself anxious to do); so when the people called on me by name to propose it, I did so, taking care to explain my views in full. All the other ex-consuls being absent except Messalla and Afranius, because as they alleged they could not safely express their opinions, the Senate passed a decree on my motion that Pompeius should be requested to undertake that office, and that it should be submitted to the legal decision of the people. On the recital of this decree, when they broke into applause immediately on the reading out of my name, according to the silly fashion now-a-days, I made them a speech, on the invitation of all the magistrates present, except one praetor and
7 two tribunes. Next day there was a full house, and all the ex-consuls were for granting Pompeius any request he saw fit to make; and he in asking for a committee of fifteen under him named me first of all, and said that I should be in every respect his second self. The consuls drew up a law conferring the management of the supply of corn all over the world on Pompeius for five years. Messius proposed an amendment giving him full control over the finances with the addition of a fleet and army, and fuller powers in the provinces than would be granted to those who have to govern them. After this the proposal of the consuls and myself seems moderate enough, this of Messius quite inadmissible. Pompeius says he prefers ours: but really (so his friends think) the other. The ex-consuls, headed by Favonius, are crying out against it: I hold my tongue, particularly because the pontifical college has as yet given no answer about my house. If it turns out that they declare the consecration illegal I shall

have a grand site. The value of the buildings upon it will then be assessed by the consul in accordance with the decree of the Senate: on the other alternative they will pull down the building, contract for another in their own names, and estimate the whole value for compensation. This is how matters now stand; somewhat unsettled, if we are to be considered the winners, but well enough considering our defeat.

About my income, I am, as you know, in great straits. Moreover there are one or two things at home which I do not care to put on paper³. How could I fail to love my brother Quintus for the affection, courage, and loyalty that are so marked in his character? I am looking for you and intreat you to make haste in coming. Come too with the full determination never to let me want for your advice. I am now as it were starting upon a second life. Already certain people who stood up for me in my absence are beginning, now I have come back, to be secretly offended with or openly jealous of me. I long beyond description to see you again.

XXI. (AD FAM. I. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

Jan. 13, 698 A. V. C. (56 B. C.)

The consuls for 56 B. C. were Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and Lucius Marcius Philippus. Lentulus Spinter on the expiration of his consulship accepted the province of Cilicia, and he is Cicero's principal correspondent for the year 56 B. C. Much of the letters to him is taken up with the affair of King Ptolemaeus Auletes, the father of Cleopatra. That king having been expelled from Egypt by his subjects for gross misgovernment, appealed to the Senate for protection. The Senate, which was a lenient judge of tyranny, was willing to reinstate him; but there were rival claimants for the office of doing so. On the one hand Lentulus Spinter was anxious to signalise his proconsulship; on the other Pompeius wished for the military power which he had failed

³ This probably refers to some domestic difference with Terentia, who apparently disliked Quintus Cicero. Compare Letter xviii. § 4.

to obtain as Commissioner of Supplies. Against this the nobles were obstinate; and a passage was soon discovered in the Sibylline books, forbidding the King of Egypt to be brought back 'with a multitude of men.' This led to an indefinite postponement of the decision, and the king was eventually restored by Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, upon his own authority. Cicero professes in these letters to have been enthusiastic in the cause of Lentulus, but was really neutral for fear of offending Pompeius. Merivale, i. 348-351; Mommsen, iv. 2. 305; Forsyth, p. 218; Long, iv. ch. 7; Abeken, 163-165.

'The year opens with a series of letters differing considerably in character from most of those with which we have been hitherto occupied. They are addressed to statesmen by a statesman, and we may notice in them a more artificial and laboured style of diction, together with an ambiguity of expression, often throwing out significant hints of matters which it appeared hazardous to speak of openly.' Abeken, p. 162.

- 1 I find that in all the claims of duty—let me rather say of affection—towards you I can satisfy anybody in the world sooner than be satisfied myself. Indeed so vast are the obligations you have laid me under, that as you never rested till you had done everything for me, I feel life embittered to me because I cannot have the same success in your behalf. The reasons for this are as follows. Hammonius the King's legate is avowedly fighting against us by length of purse: the supply is kept up by loans from the same quarters as when you were here. All who happen to be in the King's interest—they are not very many—without exception want the conduct to be entrusted to Pompeius. The Senate refuses to ignore that trumped-up plea of a religious objection, not from any religious feeling, but from the dislike and prejudice which his majesty's scattering money so freely has aroused.
- 2 I lose no opportunity of exhorting and entreating Pompeius, and even venture to expostulate with him and warn him frankly that he ought not to expose himself to such very discreditable imputations: but I fully admit that he gives me no ground for either entreaties or advice; indeed, not only in the course of ordinary conversation, but publicly in the Senate, he pleaded your cause so well that no one could have urged it with more eloquence and weight, nor yet with more

zeal and enthusiasm : adding the strongest possible testimony of the services you had done him, and the affection he felt for you. You know that Marcellinus is now annoyed with you. He is a man who in all respects, except this question of the King, bids fair to be your warmest supporter : we must take what we can get. As for his intention of bringing the question of religion before the Senate (which he has often done already), from that we cannot divert him. Up to the 13th—for I am writing this early on the 13th—the conclusion we have come to is as follows. Hortensius, Lucullus, and myself are of opinion that we ought to give way to the religious objection which has been raised to an army, as our object cannot be secured otherwise ; but in pursuance of the decree of the Senate which was passed on your own motion, we are for giving you the office of restoring the King, as you best can without injury to the state : in short, let us defer to the religious scruple and give up the army, and let the Senate retain you in the direction. Crassus proposes three commissioners without excluding Pompeius ; for his proposal is to include any who may at the time be holding military command. Bibulus is for three commissioners too, but to be selected only from those who are in a private station. The latter is supported by all the other ex-consuls, except Servilius, who gives it as his opinion that the King ought not to be restored at all ; Volcatius, who proposes Pompeius, which is to be put to the house by Lupus ; and Afranius, who only echoes Volcatius. Now one's suspicion of the real wishes of Pompeius is strengthened by the fact that his intimates (as was particularly noticed) all support Volcatius. It is very hard work, and success is doubtful. The undisguised way in which Libo and Hypsæus are rushing about and straining every nerve, and the anxiety shown by those who are most intimate with Pompeius, have created a general belief that he himself really wishes for this appointment ; while those who object to him object to you also, because of the important commission you proposed to confer on him.

- 4 Any influence my position might exercise in your behalf is diminished by my being so much indebted to you, while my private interest fades into nothing before the shrewd suspicion which people have got into their heads that they are really doing a favour to Pompeius. It must be remembered that we have to deal with a case which long before your departure was secretly embittered by the King himself, and the more intimate associates of Pompeius, and afterwards made worse by the open meddling of the ex-consuls, to the great disgust of everybody. My loyalty to you all the world shall see, and your friends who are here shall know that I have not forgotten you because you are far away. If those people on whose loyalty we have the deepest claim were really influenced by it at all we should have no difficulties to encounter.

XXII. (AD FAM. I. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

Jan. 15, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

- 1 No resolution was come to in the Senate on the 13th of January, owing to the day being so largely taken up with a warm dispute between the consul Marcellinus and the tribune Caninius. On that occasion I too took a considerable share in the debate, and apparently impressed the house a good deal by dwelling on your cordial support of the body to which we belong. So next day we thought it best only to give our opinions briefly, for as I had already perceived, both in the course of my speech and when I appealed to individual members to request their support, the feeling of the house had evidently come over to our side. When therefore all the motions had been read out; first, moved by Bibulus, that there should be three commissioners to reinstate the King; then, by Hortensius, that the office of reinstating him should be conferred on you, but without an

army; thirdly, by Volcatius, that it should be conferred on Pompeius; a demand was made that the motion of Bibulus should be put to the vote as two separate questions. So far as it related to the religious objection—and this could no longer be opposed—Bibulus's motion was accepted; about the three commissioners a large majority voted against him. The motion of Hortensius stood next to be taken; where-² upon Lupus the tribune rose to maintain that having himself proposed Pompeius he had a prior right to the consuls to take a division on his own motion. His speech was met with vehement cries of 'Order' from everybody: it was indeed a thing monstrous and unheard of. The consuls were neither inclined to give way nor yet to fight the question boldly: they wanted the debate to be protracted over the day (as was the result in the end), for they saw plainly that an immense majority would, on a division, vote for the motion of Hortensius, though they might profess to hold with Volcatius. Many people were asked their opinion, though even that was much against the will of the consuls, who were eager for the proposal of Bibulus to be adopted. When the dispute³ had lasted quite until nightfall the House broke up. I happened to be dining that day with Pompeius, and getting here a better opportunity than I had ever had before, because I had won more laurels that day in the Senate than at any time since you left, I said in conversation enough I think to induce him to postpone all other objects to the maintenance of your rightful claims. Now whenever I am personally conversing with him I cannot but acquit him entirely of any suspicion of personal ambition: when however I mark the behaviour of his intimates in every rank I see clearly enough, as indeed is now patent to everybody, that your cause has long been betrayed by some underhand dealing on the part of people I need not mention, no doubt with the connivance of the King himself and his advisers. I am writing this before⁴ daybreak on the 15th of January; and the Senate is to meet again to-day. As for myself, I may at least hope to preserve

my position there, as far as one can amid such faithlessness and wrongdoing as exists in the world. As for the plan of a popular vote, I think we have taken such precautions that no one can bring it before the people at all without violating religion and law alike, or indeed without a breach of the peace altogether. It was with a view to this that only the day before my writing these lines a most stringent resolution of the Senate has been passed; and though both Cato and Caninius interposed their veto, it was still ordered to be entered on the minutes: no doubt it has been sent to you. As to other matters, I will let you know about anything that happens, and will spare no expenditure of time and trouble or of vigilance and private interest to secure that everything shall be managed in the best possible way.

XXIII. (AD QUINT. FRAT. II. 3.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS
IN SARDINIA.

Feb. 15, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

At the time of this letter Quintus Cicero was in Sardinia as a member of the Commission of Supplies under Pompeius (Letter xx, Introduction). This and the next one relate the most recent events at Rome: particularly the prosecution, apparently ineffectual, of Milo by Clodius for a breach of the peace; the growing dissensions between Pompeius and Crassus; and the acquittal of Sestius for a breach of the peace in attacking Clodius, which was thought to indicate the temper of the tribunals. Merivale, i. 351-355; Long, iv. ch. 7; Abeken, 165-167; Forsyth, 219-224.

About this time Cicero's daughter, Tullia, whose first husband, Calpurnius Piso Frugi, had been dead a year, was betrothed to Furius Crassipes, quaestor of Bithynia, an adherent of Caesar, of whom little is known. The marriage seems never to have taken place.

¹ I wrote to you before about all that had happened up to that time¹; now I must tell you what has occurred since. The reception of the foreign deputations was postponed from the 1st to the 13th of February, business not being finished

¹ The date of the last letter to Quintus before this one is Jan. 15.

on the former day. On the 2nd Milo surrendered to stand his trial. Pompeius was in court to support him, and at my request Marcellus spoke in his defence: in the end we came off with credit. The trial was adjourned until the 7th. Meanwhile the deputations having been put off till the 13th, the provinces to be given to the different quaestors and the grants to be made to the praetors were discussed, but there were so many lamentations on the state of the country forced upon us that nothing was settled. Gaius Cato² gave notice of a proposal to recall Lentulus from his government. His son has put on mourning. On the 27th Milo again appeared on his trial. Pompeius spoke, or rather intended to, for as soon as he rose the hired rowdies of Clodius made such an uproar, lasting too throughout his whole speech, as to drown his voice with their interruptions, and even with insults and abuse. Well, when he had made his peroration—for I must admit that he showed great resolution on the occasion, and so far from being conquered by them, said his full say, sometimes even without interruption, and in the end succeeded in making a considerable impression—after his peroration, I say, up got Clodius: whereupon such an uproar was raised on our side (for we had determined to give him as good as he gave) that he lost his head, and could neither control his voice nor his countenance. This scene, though Pompeius had all but finished speaking at eleven, lasted till quite one³; people meanwhile shouting all sorts of abuse, culminating finally in ribald doggerel against Clodius and his sister⁴. Furious and white with rage, he appealed to his partisans above the shouting to say who it was that was starving the people to death? His rowdies shouted back, Pompeius. Who it was that wanted to go to Alexandria? They cried, Pompeius. Whom would they vote for to go

² Compare Letter xv. § 15; xxii. § 4.

³ This is a rough approximation to the time. The Roman hours of the day varied (in the local reckoning they do still) with the time of year. See Dict. Ant., p. 614.

⁴ Compare Letter ix. § 5.

instead? Crassus, they replied. He himself was in the assembly at the time with no friendly intentions to Milo. About two the Clodians began, apparently at a given signal, to spit upon our party. This was too much for our temper. They were trying to hustle us to crowd us out of the place: but our men falling upon them, the roughs took to their heels; Clodius was forced down from the platform, and then I too fled for fear of anything happening in the riot. The Senate is then summoned to meet: as for Pompeius, he is off home: still even so I avoid the House, not liking on the one hand to hold my tongue in such a crisis, or on the other to defend Pompeius—for he was being attacked by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and the younger Servilius—and so run the risk of offending many good patriots. The inquiry was adjourned till next day; Clodius gave notice of postponing the trial ³ till the feast of Quirinus⁵. On the 8th the Senate met in the Temple of Apollo, in order that Pompeius might be present⁶; and he spoke on the question with considerable force; but nothing was decided that day. On the 9th they met in the Temple of Apollo, and passed a resolution that the proceedings of the 8th were a breach of the peace. The same day Cato delivered a vehement invective against Pompeius, and through the whole of his speech attacked him as though he were actually in the dock, while about me, strongly against my will, he spoke at length, and in most flattering terms. His denunciation of the bad faith that had been kept with me was listened to amid perfect silence by my ill-wishers. Pompeius made a vehement reply, and alluded to Crassus, saying in so many words that he himself would take more precaution to guard his own life than Africanus, who ⁴ was murdered by Papirius Carbo, had done⁷. So it seems to

⁵ Feb. 17.

⁶ This Temple of Apollo was near the Flaminian Circus, and outside the walls, so that Pompeius could attend without forfeiting his *imperium*. But Mr. Watson (see note on this passage) thinks the place was selected on account of the disorder in the city.

⁷ Scipio Africanus Minor was found dead in his bed, and was probably

me that we have great storms beginning to brew, for Pompeius quite understands, and makes no secret to me of his belief, that there are plots in the air against his life; that Gaius Cato is backed up by Crassus, while some one is supplying Clodius with funds; and that both of them are being egged on not only by him, but by Curio, Bibulus, and everybody else who would like to see him humbled; and therefore great care just now is necessary if he would not be entirely crushed, with the demagogue-ridden mob well-nigh alienated from him, with the nobility hostile, the Senate prejudiced, and our young bloods ready for any reckless deed. So he is forearming by sending for men from the country, while Clodius is filling up his gang of rowdies: there is a body of them now being got ready for Quirinus-day. In this instance we are far stronger than any forces he can get by himself; and besides a strong lot are expected from Picenum and Gaul, so that we may even show fight against Cato's motions about Milo and Lentulus.

On the 10th of February Sestius was summoned by Gnaeus Nerus, an informer belonging to the Pupinian tribe, for bribery, and on the same day by a certain Marcus Tullius for breaking the peace. He was then ill in bed. Of course I went immediately to see him at his house, and placed myself entirely at his service (in which I was acting contrary to the expectation of most people, who thought I had some reason for being a little annoyed with him), that I might enjoy both the satisfaction and the character of showing great kindness and gratitude, and I mean to be as good as my word. But in addition to the others implicated, Nerus has laid information against Gnaeus Lentulus Vatia and Gaius Cornelius; [and so they have been put on their trial⁸]. The same day the Senate passed a resolution that all political

murdered; but it is purely a hypothesis, which Cicero states as a fact, that Gaius Papirius Carbo was guilty of it. See Mommsen, iii. 104.

⁸ This is Orelli's suggestion, '*itaque rei facti sunt*,' in place of the unmeaning '*ista ei*.'

- clubs and electioneering associations should be disbanded, and a law should be proposed to render such of them as might have refused to dissolve liable to the penalties for breaking the peace.
- 6 On the 11th I defended Bestia on his trial for bribery before the praetor Gnaeus Domitius, in the centre of the Forum, amidst a vast concourse; and in speaking I happened to allude to the time when Sestius in the temple of Castor, being then covered with wounds, was only saved by the help of Bestia. With such a *belle occasion* of course I introduced here an *avant-propos* with reference to the charges that were now being raked together against Sestius, and praised him in words of genuine admiration that won full assent from everybody. The incident gratified the subject of it exceedingly; and I mention it now to you because in your letters you have frequently advised me to keep on good terms with Sestius.
- 7 Thus far I am writing on the 12th before daybreak. To-day I am going to Pomponius's wedding-dinner⁹.

P.S. Feb. 15. All that I need add is that I find my position full of dignity and influence. This you have frequently told me would be the case, but I was afraid to believe it; and all this, my brother, has been won back for both of us by your patience, resolution and affection, and, I must add, by your tact. The house near Piso's park that belonged to Lucinius has been hired for you; but I hope that in a few months, after the 1st of July, you will be able to move into your own. Your house in the Carinae¹⁰ has been taken on lease by some very respectable tenants, the Lamiae. I have had no letter from you since the note from Olbia¹¹. I am anxious to know how you are getting on, and how you amuse yourself, but most of all to see your face again as soon as ever I may. Be sure, my dear brother, not to neglect your health, and, even though it is winter, recollect that you are now living in Sardinia.

⁹ Atticus married Pilia, who is frequently mentioned in later letters.

¹⁰ The Carinae was between the Forum and the Esquiline, near the present church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

¹¹ Now Terra Nuova, on the N. E. coast of Sardinia; at this time the principal port of the island.

XXIV. (AD QUINT. FRAT. II. 4.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS IN
SARDINIA.

March, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

On the 11th of March my friend Sestius was acquitted, and 1 moreover, which is of the greatest constitutional importance—that there should be no appearance of a division of opinion in a case of this kind—he was acquitted unanimously.

Now as to that anxiety of yours which I have often noticed, that I should leave no ill-natured person, who would be sure to say that I was ungrateful if I did not in some things quite good-humouredly put up with his crabbedness, any opportunity for abusing me, I may tell you that in this trial I have earned the reputation of being one of the most grateful men in the world. For not only did I by defending a man who had been so cross-grained lay him under a mountain of obligation, but I also gratified his dearest wish by making very short work of Vatinius, who was openly attacking him, to my own complete satisfaction and the joy of gods and men. ✓ Moreover my friend Paulus, though called as a witness against Sestius, declared that he would give information against Vatinius, if Licinius Macer would agree to a delay; and Macer at once rose from his place among Sestius's friends to say that he would certainly not refuse the request. Not to make a long story, that passionate and overbearing fellow [Vatinius] left the court much disturbed in mind and quite beaten.

Your Quintus, who is an excellent boy, is getting on re- 2 markably well in his studies: this I have now the better opportunity of noticing because Tyrannio gives him his lessons here. Our joint house is being built very fast. I have seen to the paying of half the money to your contractor; and before winter comes I hope we shall both be under one roof. About our Tullia—who I am sure sends her best love to her uncle—I hope I have now settled everything with Crassipes. We are

now in the two days that people generally consider holidays after the Latin festival; but the festival itself is over¹.

XXV. (AD ATT. IV. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ANTIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

The time for the struggle between the senatorial party and the triumvirs, weakened by their mutual jealousy, seemed now to have come. Accordingly on the 6th of April Cicero proposed in a full house to reconsider Caesar's act for the allotment of lands in Campania on the 15th of May; while Domitius announced that his first proceeding as consul should be to propose the appointment of a successor to Caesar. The moment was critical, and Caesar acted with his customary promptness. Meeting Crassus at Ravenna he proceeded with him to Lucca, where they were joined by Pompeius and the prominent members of their party, and an understanding was restored between the three regents. Pompeius then crossed to Sardinia and informed Quintus Cicero that he would be held responsible for any act of hostility on the part of his brother. This produced an immediate and almost startling change in the orator, whose next appearance in the Senate was to deliver the extant speech 'On the Consular Provinces,' which is a political manifesto on behalf of Caesar and Pompeius, and is probably the 'Recantation' alluded to below. (Some however think this refers to the defence of Balbus, or to a separate pamphlet.) Cicero's real feeling of humiliation may be seen in this remarkable if not unique letter. Two years later it is nearly concealed under a cloud of words, as, for example, in the long letter to Lentulus (No. xxix).

Mommsen, iv. 2. 306-311; Merivale, i. 352-360; Abeken, pp. 168-173; Forsyth, p. 227; and compare Mr. Watson's remarks in his *Introd. to Part ii.* p. 137.

- 1 Can I believe my ears then, and do you really think there is a soul in the world I would rather have to read and criticise my writings than yourself? Why then did I send them to anybody first? Because I was pressed by the person to whom they were sent and had not got another copy. Anything more? Well, yes there is—(how I keep nibbling round my leek that I shall have to swallow!)—the fact is I do feel a

¹ The Latin festival was one of the *feriae conceptivae*, or those the date of which was fixed by the consuls in each year. Consequently the remark does not supply the precise date of this letter.

little bit ashamed of *la palinodie*. But let us openly say our good-bye to sincerity, truth, and honour. Nobody can believe what perfidy those lords of ours as they want to be—aye, and would make themselves, if they could but be straightforward—can show. I had felt this before; I knew it all, befooled, deserted, flung aside as I had been by them¹: still I made up my mind to this, that for public policy I would co-operate with them. They were just the same as ever. Now at last, under your teaching, I am come to my senses. You will say that your suggestion went no farther² than what would be my best policy, not that I should formally put it down in black and white. I solemnly declare that what I wanted was to tie myself down to this new connection, that no possible way might be left open of slipping back among people who, even when they have every reason for pitying, cannot cease to be jealous of me. Still in the *sujet* of my speech, as I have already told you, I was very modest: if however he takes it kindly and it makes those people snarl, I shall launch out more fully—people who begrudge my having a house that belonged to Catulus, and do not care to remember that I bought it from Vettius; who declare that I ought not to have built a house, but to have sold the land. But what will you say if I tell you that whenever I gave my reasons for voting in the way they themselves could not but approve, they only exulted that my speaking was by no means agreeable to Pompeius? I've done with them: if the weaker side will not behave kindly to me I must try and secure that the stronger should take to me. You will say,³ 'I should have been inclined to that long ago.' I know you wanted it, and that I was a downright ass. But it is now

¹ Hermann takes *senseram inductus* like *sensit delapsus* (Aen. ii. 377); and Prof. Nettleship (Journal of Philology, No. 15) quotes this passage without discussion as a parallel. But is there any instance of such a construction in prose at all? Moreover the tense is against taking *senseram* at any rate with the participle, and if so it is surely simpler to understand the same implied object with *noram* from the preceding sentence.

high time for me to bestow a little affection on myself, since I cannot get it from these people on any terms.

I am very much obliged to you for going so often to look after my house. Crassipes runs away with all my money for travelling². Do you think I should come straight off the journey to your villa³? Would it not be more convenient to come to you? The next day is just as good, for what difference does it make to you?—but we will see about that. Your people have been making my library smart by putting the books in cases, and re-covering them. Say you are pleased with them for doing it.

XXVI. (AD FAM. I. 7.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

May (†), 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

For the facts connected with King Ptolemaeus, see Introduction to Letter xxi; for the present position of the triumvirs, and Cicero's relation to them, see Introduction to Letter xxv.

- 1 I have been reading the letter in which you tell me you are much obliged that I keep you so frequently informed about everything that goes on and give you such convincing proofs of my regard. As to this latter—I mean my strong affection for yourself—can I possibly feel otherwise if I mean to be the man you once helped me to be? As to the former, it is always to me a pleasant duty to perform, seeing that it gives me the opportunity in so long and distant a separation as ours of conversing with you on paper as often as possible. So if the intervals are longer than you expect, the cause will simply be that my letter is not of a kind

² That is, the expense of Tullia's dowry. See the conclusion of the preceding letter.

³ This sentence is ambiguous, owing to our not possessing the letter of Atticus. The interpretation given above, which makes '*de via recta in hortos*' a quotation from Atticus's letter, is that of Boot, and is at least as good as any other.



Ep. XXVI.] *TO LENTULUS SPINTHER. (AD FAM. I. 7.)* 99

I could venture to entrust to any chance person: whenever I have an opportunity of finding trustworthy persons by whom I may safely send one I will not fail to make use of it.

It is not easy to give you a satisfactory answer about the 2 sincerity and energy each person seems inclined individually to show. This much only, though I have frequently hinted it to you before, I venture, now that I have examined the point and am thoroughly satisfied of it, here to repeat: that certain people (I include particularly some who had the strongest obligations as well as the best opportunities to strengthen your cause) have shown themselves vehemently jealous of your position. In fact, different as our cases are, your position now is exactly what my own was once; those to whom you had given offence on public grounds being your avowed opponents; those whose position, whose rights, and whose aims you had always supported, being less inclined to remember your generosity than to carp at your merits. Such was the position of affairs then, as I have fully described to you before, when I satisfied myself that Hortensius was genuinely anxious on your behalf, and Lucullus very enthusiastic; while, of the people actually in office, Lucius Racilius displayed remarkable loyalty and courage. As for my own championship of you and my efforts to support your rightful claims, they will probably be thought by most people, considering the depth of my obligation to you, to be rather instigated by a feeling of duty than by deliberate approval. Indeed, with the above exceptions, I cannot testify 3 to any zeal or gratitude or friendliness towards you on the part of the ex-consuls: for Pompeius, though he frequently speaks to me about your case, and that not only when I press him on the subject but even unsolicited, was at that time, as you are aware, not often to be found in his place in the Senate. Certainly to him your last letter was, I could easily see, very gratifying. And indeed, speaking for myself, your courtesy, or rather your singular knowledge of human nature, seems as marvellous as it is pleasant. For he is an excellent

man, who feels his obligations to you for your conspicuous generosity to him; and just when he was inclined to suspect that you had been alienated from him because there are several people who call him self-seeking, you have by your letter attached him to you again. In fact, though I have always myself thought that he fully appreciated your merits, even during that most suspicious period of Caninius¹, yet on this occasion, after he had read your letter, it was evident to me beyond a doubt that he was thoroughly determined to promote your cause, and whatever might be to
4 your honour and interest. For this reason I should like you to understand that what I am about to say, I say only after frequently discussing the matter with him, and with his full consent and authority. That is, that as there is no decree of the Senate existing to deprive you of the right to reinstate the king [of Alexandria], and as the order finally made on the subject (which, as you know, was vetoed), that nobody should be entrusted with his reinstatement at all, might for any weight it carries be the party expression of heated men rather than the deliberate judgment of a grave legislative body, we are of opinion that you must be able to judge how far your being in command of Cilicia and Cyprus will enable you to venture, and what would be your chances of success. If the state of things seems likely to give you an opportunity successfully to hold Alexandria and Egypt, we think that it will be in no wise derogatory to you or our empire there that you with your fleet and army should proceed to Alexandria, first leaving king Ptolemaeus at Ptolemais² or any place in the neighbourhood, so that when you have re-established order there, and a strong garrison, he may return to his kingdom. The result of this will be that while it will be you who will reinstate him, just as the Senate originally voted, he will at the same time not have been restored by

¹ Letter xxii. §§ 1, 4.

² It is doubtful whether the best known Ptolemais (Acre) is meant, as this is a long way from Alexandria. Many towns, as is natural, had this name.

force of numbers, and this the scrupulous party insist on as being the injunction of the Sibyl. But when we both agreed 5 to recommend this scheme we were by no means blind to the fact that the world will judge of your policy according to its success: if all has turned out as we wish and hope to see, everybody will say you have done wisely and bravely: if any mishap occurs, the very same men will call it ambitious and foolhardy. For this reason it is not so easy for us as it is for you, who have Egypt all but in sight of you, to judge how far this is practicable. What we feel in short is this: If you are satisfied you can make yourself master of his kingdom you ought to lose no time about it: if you have any doubt on this point you ought not to run the risk. Of this at least I can assure you, that if you have been successful in your scheme you will find a considerable party to applaud you even during your absence, as everybody will do after your return. Any slip is, I know, very dangerous on account of that order of the Senate, and the religious difficulty that there is in your way; but while I would encourage you to win yourself laurels wherever they are certain, I must as emphatically warn you against any perilous struggle. In short, to return to what I said at the first, the world will form its conclusion about the whole affair more from the success than the merits of your scheme. If, however, you think this plan 6 of action hazardous, it was our opinion that in that case you would do well to let your men and supplies be at the king's disposal, provided he has given sufficient security to your friends throughout the province over which your authority extends for repaying any money they may have advanced: the nature and situation of your province being such that you can greatly help his return, if you lend it your support, or make it difficult if you choose to stand aloof. In deciding this question you yourself will be the best and most likely person to judge of what the case on its general merits or its special circumstances would suggest; our own conclusion I thought it best you should learn from myself.

- 7 When you congratulate me on my present position, on my intimacy with Milo, and on finding Clodius as powerless as he is worthless, I cannot wonder at all that you, like a great artist, should look with pleasure on the perfection of your own work. And yet the wrongheadedness (I do not like to use a stronger word) of people is quite beyond belief. They have simply estranged me from making common cause with them by their jealousies, when they might have retained my services by proper appreciation. And I must own to you that by the extreme spitefulness of their attacks I have been all but forced to abandon the principles I have so long and steadily supported: not that I would go so far as to forget my self-respect, but I feel that it is high time now to let my own security too count for something. Both were quite compatible if honour or principle existed among the ex-consuls: but most of them are infected with such a paltry spirit that admiration for my consistent political career is
- 8 outdone by envy of its reputation. I write all this to you with the less reserve, because not only in my present fortunes, the enjoyment of which I owe to you, but almost from the earliest rise of my reputation and position you have given them your distinguished support; and also because I see that it is not (as I formerly suspected) my want of birth that has excited their envy; for I have seen on yourself, the greatest of our nobles, the same malignity of detractors at work. Of course those people were quite ready to admit you among our leading men; what they entirely objected to was your soaring above them. I rejoice that your lot has thus been different from mine, for it is not at all the same thing to have one's honours cut down and to be abandoned to ruin. Still I owe it to your resolution that I have not too bitterly to lament what has passed; it seems as though by your efforts my reputation had gained more than my fortunes have lost. But you
- 9 I earnestly advise, stimulated not only by your kindnesses but by my own affection, with all zeal and perseverance to make glory, which has fired your enthusiasm from boyhood,

still in every form your guiding-star, and never on any occasion, through the malice of some one else, to swerve from the greatness of soul I have always admired and always loved in you. The world has a strong admiration for you; your liberality is a strong passport to favour; a strong one too is the memory of your consulship: surely you must see how much more prominent, how much more brilliant all this will become if you add to it no inconsiderable lustre from the government and administration of your province. Yet I would not have you take any step requiring you to employ your army and the powers you possess, without a long and careful consideration of what I have said. Make your preparations for this end; take this always into account; in every action keep this in view; and believe what, as you have always hoped for it, I doubt not you now perceive from your success to be true—that with the utmost ease you may assert for yourself the very highest and most dignified position in the state. And now that this exhortation of mine may not seem to you to be pointless and spoken without reason, here is the motive which impelled me: it was because I thought you ought to have the warning pointed by our common experience to be very cautious as long as you live, whom to trust and with whom to be on your guard.

As to your inquiry about the state of public affairs—we 10 are in a desperate struggle, but the sides are not properly matched; since those who already have the advantage in money, in arms, and in strength seem to me to have gained so much by the folly and irresolution of their adversaries that now they have the superiority even in prestige. And so with hardly any dissentient voices the Senate has been the instrument of giving them everything which they fancied they could hardly appeal to the people for without risk of an outbreak. Not only did we vote money to Caesar to pay his troops, and a right to nominate ten of his lieutenant-generals, but no difficulty was made about dispensing with Gracchus's act for appointing a successor

to him³. All this I mention to you somewhat briefly because I cannot feel satisfaction with the present state of the Republic; still I do mention it to be a warning to you of a lesson which, though from my boyhood I have been a student of history, I myself have had to learn more from experience than from books: that you at least may see before evil befalls you how we ought neither to study self-protection and neglect our honour, nor yet our honour and forget our self-protection.

- 11 I am obliged to you for your kind congratulations about my daughter and Crassipes. I do indeed trust, as is of course my wish, that this alliance may prove one that will always be a satisfaction to us. You must bring up my young friend Lentulus, a lad who gives remarkable promise of noble qualities, in all the accomplishments which have ever been your taste, and, above all, to follow in your steps. Can there be any training in the world better than this? I love him much, and hold him very dear, not less because he is your son, and a worthy son too, than from the particular liking he seems to have always had for me.

XXVII. (AD FAM. VII. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO JULIUS CAESAR IN GAUL.

February or March, 700 A. V. C. (55 B. C.)

This letter is of little importance, except perhaps as illustrating the terms on which Cicero now ostensibly stood with Caesar. It is simply a letter of introduction for Gaius Trebatius Testa, who is mentioned again in Letter lxii. § 4, and to whom the first Satire of the second book of Horace is addressed.

- 1 I must beg you to notice how I assume that you are really one with myself, not only in whatever concerns me in

³ A law of Gaius Gracchus providing for the assignment of provinces to the consuls before their election. The assignment of Gaul would be virtually the recall of Caesar. As Mr. Watson remarks, 'no one could suppose from Cicero's language here, that he had actively supported Caesar's claims.'

person, but even my friends as well. Gaius Trebatius I had intended to take with me wherever it was settled I was to go; not intending that he should return without my having loaded him with every attention and service I could show. But now that I have found first that Pompeius was longer in setting out than I had expected, and secondly that a certain reason for hesitating (of which you are not unaware) seemed likely at least to delay my starting, if not to put a stop to it altogether, I have taken the liberty which I am going to mention. Feeling a rising wish that Trebatius could look to you for any patronage he had expected to receive from me, upon my word I have pledged myself to him for your good-will just as freely as I used to for my own. But hereupon an extraordinary coincidence happened ² to us as though to give evidence for my opinion about you, and go bail for your courteous liberality. Just when I was taking much pains to insist on this very point at my own house in conversation with Trebatius and our common friend Balbus, a letter from you is handed me, which concludes as follows: 'Marcus * * *, as he has your good word, I will make King of Gaul if you like; or if you prefer it, pass him on to the care of Lepta, and you can send me somebody else to give a place to.' Both Balbus and I raised our hands in wonder: the coincidence here was so striking that it seemed somehow to be no chance, but Providence itself. Therefore I send Trebatius to you, and if my sending him was at first of my own motion, it is now to be done at your own invitation. I hope, my dear Caesar, you will so ³ receive him with your wonted courtesy that whatever favours you would be willing for my sake to confer upon any of my friends you will give this friend the entire benefit of. As to his character, I pledge myself for this—and I am not using a hackneyed phrase, such as you justly rallied me on once before when I wrote to you about Milo, but speaking in true Roman fashion, as men who are not empty triflers do—that a truer-hearted man, and a braver or less

assuming soldier does not exist: add to this that he is quite at the top of his profession in civil law from his unequalled memory and vast learning¹. I do not ask for him either a tribuneship or a prefecture, or wish to limit you to any definite piece of preferment: what I do ask you for is that you will show him some kindness and keep a friendly eye upon him. Not that I have any objection, if you are so disposed, to your conferring upon him any such little marks of distinction as well. In short I pass him over, as they say, only from my own hand into yours,—the hand so eminent alike in pledging a friend, or striking down a foe. Pardon me if I thus trespass on you a little: your name, I know, might well forbid it, but I see it will be allowed. Farewell, and let me always enjoy the friendship you now have for me.

XXVIII. (AD ATT. IV. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS IN ASIA MINOR.

July 29 (?), 700 A.V.C. (54 B.C.)

After his late severe lesson Cicero made no further move in the Senate for some time, but confined his energies to the Bar, though it too was now playing an important part in the struggle between the Senate and the triumvirs; Here however he had no rival except Hortensius. He defended his enemies Vatinius and Gabinius: the latter, though Caesar's most active lieutenant in Rome, was condemned. Riots at elections between the embittered factions were now the rule; and for one of these, in which a citizen had been killed, apparently by Proclilius, in his own house, the tribunes Sufenas, Gaius Cato, and Proclilius were brought to trial, but only the last-named was condemned.

Disputes between the people of Reate (Rieti) and Interamna (Terni) about the waters of the Velinus have existed almost down to our own day. At Rieti is still shown a mutilated statue, said to be erected by the people in honour of Cicero's services in this very trial. The splendid work of Curius Dentatus for draining the upper tableland forms the celebrated *Caduta delle Marmore*, or Falls of Terni. Smith's *Dict. Geogr. s. v. Reate*; *ib. Biogr. Dentatus*; Forsyth, p. 260; Mommsen, i. p. 463.

¹ Another interpretation is: 'Add to this that he is a man of unequalled memory and vast learning, which in civil law is the first consideration.' See *Dict. Biog.* iii. p. 1012. But this leaves no proper construction for 'accedit.'

On the secret compact alluded to § 7, which was a bargain made by the consuls Appius Claudius and Domitius Ahenobarbus to support Memmius and Domitius Calvinus at the election in return for a fraudulent decree giving them military authority, see Merivale, i. 386; Forsyth, pp. 281-283; Abeken, p. 189.

I am pleased to hear that Eutychides is to take your old ¹ name of Titus with your new family name of Caecilius, just as Dionysius by a combination of you and me becomes Marcus Pomponius. Assuredly it is a real pleasure to me to know that Eutychides understands, through your granting me this favour, that his having been so *compatissant* in my trouble was neither lost upon me at the time nor forgotten afterwards.

Your journey into Asia I suppose you were obliged to take, ² for without very good reason you, I am sure, would never have chosen to be absent so long from your friends, and indeed from everything you most love and prize. But the speediness of your return will best show the consideration and love you bear to those friends: still I am afraid of the rhetorician Clodius detaining you too long with the charms of his conversation, as also that most accomplished man—so people say he is—Pituanus, who just now indeed is quite given up to his Greek ‘books’.¹ But if you would be thought a good man and true, be back among us by the time you promised; you will still be able to see enough of those two people at Rome when they have found their way here in safety.

You say you are longing to have at least a line from me. ³ Why, I did write to you, about a great variety of things-too, indeed a full account of everything just as it happened *de jour en jour*: but I suppose, as you did not apparently stop long in Epirus, the explanation is that they never reached you. My letters to you however are generally of a kind that one does not care to entrust to anybody but a person of whom

¹ The tone of the passage seems to show that this is ironical; so that by *litteris* Cicero probably means accounts or ledgers, the charms of which he fears will be too strong for Atticus. Compare § 7, where he banters his friend again on his liking for money-getting.

one may feel quite sure that he will deliver them into your own hands.

- 4 Now I will tell you about matters at Rome. On the 5th of July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, while Proculus was condemned, from which it is obvious that these 'viri reverendissimi' care not a straw about the bribery, about the conduct of the elections, about the interregnum we have had, about the shock to the constitution, or in short about their country at all. We ought to think twice perhaps before killing a householder in his own house, but even this is not universally held, seeing that twenty-two voted for an acquittal, against twenty-eight for a conviction! Clodius who led the accusation had made an impression on the minds of the jurors by a really very eloquent peroration. Hortensius acquitted himself in his usual manner. I did not open my mouth, as my little girl, who is now unwell, dreaded my
- 5 provoking the anger of Clodius. When all this was over, the people of Reate had me over to their valley, which is a perfect Tempe, to plead their cause against Interamna before the consul and ten commissioners; because the water of Lake Velinus, to which Curius Dentatus gave an outlet by cutting through the hill, flows down into the Nar; and thanks to him, the Rosia, as everybody knows, has been reclaimed from water, though it retains a moderate amount of moisture. I stayed with Axius, and it was he who took me over to
- 6 Seven Waters. On Fonteius's account I returned to town on the 9th of July. I went to see the play, and immediately on my entrance considerable applause, and from all parts of the house—but never mind this; it was foolish of me to mention it. Well, I gave my whole attention to Antipho, who had had his freedom given him before being brought out. Not to keep you in suspense, he was a success with the people; but I never saw anything so feeble, such a total want of voice, or such —— but never mind; you must keep this to yourself. In the *Andromache* however he was not so small as *Astyanax*, but among the rest there was nobody of his size

at all. And what about Arbuscula? Well, she decidedly pleased me. The games were magnificent and gave much pleasure. The wild-beast hunt had to be postponed.

Now I will take you to the polling-booths. Bribery is ⁷ going on hotly, '*quod iam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis*'.² On the 15th of July the rate of interest was raised at once from 4 to 8 per cent³! Perhaps you will say, 'Well, that at any rate I will make a shift to bear.' And you call yourself a man, and a patriot! All Caesar's influence is being used on behalf of Memmius: the consuls have coupled Domitius with him, under a compact which I cannot venture to put on paper. Pompeius storms and grumbles, and backs up Scaurus, but whether only on the surface or in earnest is considered doubtful. No candidate has the least *primauté*: whatever claims any of them may have are perfectly neutralised by money. Messalla's hopes are low; not that you must think his courage or his friends to be failing him, but the caucus of the consuls and the line taken by Pompeius are much against him. I think it probable that the next election will have to be adjourned. The candidates for the tribuneship have pledged themselves only to go to the poll if approved by Cato. They have each deposited with him £4000 on the condition that whoever is rejected by Cato shall lose that sum, which is to go to the credit of his competitors. I am writing this letter the day before the ⁸ elections are expected to be held, but if they come off, and the messenger has not then started, I will on the 28th write to you all about the election; and if, as is anticipated, it proves to be free from bribery, Cato will by himself have effected more than [all your laws or] all your judges.

² Verg. Georg. iv. 253. Cicero is quoting from Iliad xxiii. 326. Compare the Irish phrase, 'And more by token.'

³ Even the higher of these rates is somewhat lower than we should expect (compare Letter xxxvi. § 13, where 12 per cent. is declared the legal interest). But Dean Merivale's interpretation (i. 387) of 4 to 8 per cent. *per month* is wholly incredible, even if the words will bear that meaning.

9 I have been undertaking the defence of Messius, who has had to return from his post for trial, for Appius had secured him an appointment on Caesar's staff. It was Servilius who issued the summons against him. The tribes he selects are the Pomptine, Velian, and Maecian. The struggle is a sharp one, but I am doing good work. When this is over I take Drusus's case, and then Scaurus: good names these to have when any one catalogues my speeches! Possibly the consuls-elect as well will come into the list, and if Scaurus fails to find himself among them it will go hard with him in this
10 trial. From my brother Quintus's letters I imagine he is now in Britain⁴. I am waiting with much anxiety to know what he will do. This much at any rate I have to congratulate myself on, namely, the many and strong reasons I have for believing that I am not only warmly respected, but personally liked by Caesar.

Will you give my compliments to Dionysius, and ask him as a request from me to come as soon as possible, so that he may have the opportunity of teaching my boy Marcus,—yes, and his father too.

XXIX. (AD FAM. I. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

September, 700 A.V.C. (54 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letter xxv. This elaborate letter, one of Cicero's most celebrated compositions, contains the orator's lengthy apology, when the immediate humiliation was past, for his sudden conversion to the party of the triumvirs. Most of it is laboured and artificial in the extreme, but in a few parts of it Cicero seems almost to have convinced himself. Forsyth, pp. 267-273; Abeken, p. 192.

1 Your letter gave me very great pleasure indeed by letting me know that you recognise my affection for you—I will

⁴ It was on his return from Britain on this occasion that Quintus Cicero made his gallant defence of a fort near Charleroi against a fierce attack of the Nervii, which gained him the warm regard of Caesar. See Froude's *Caesar*, ch. 17.

not say merely regard, since even that highest and holiest name of affection seems too feeble to express your claims upon me. And when you tell me you are greatly obliged by my efforts to serve you, the truth is that your own overflowing love raises that into an obligation which it were an unpardonable sin to omit. You would however far better have understood my feelings, as they might have been more clearly shown, had we but been at Rome and together during all this period of our separation. For that line of conduct you announce ² your intention of following—for which indeed you are eminently qualified, and in which I expect great things from you—would have given us strength in the debates in the Senate, nay in our whole political conduct and administration (and talking of politics, I will postpone till a little later on an account of how I stand in opinion and position, and my answer to your questions); or at least I should have enjoyed in you a most faithful and sagacious admirer, you in me a perhaps not inexperienced, and at any rate trustworthy and devoted confidant. I rejoice of course for your sake that you have won the highest command, and that you and your victorious army are securing the province to us by your successes, yet I certainly feel that had you been here you might have reaped all the fruits of my gratitude in some more abundant and substantial form. In particular I should have proved myself an admirable comrade for punishing those creatures who are set against you, partly, you are aware, through your championship of my rights, partly from envy of the grandeur and glory of that action. However that lifelong enemy of his own benefactors¹, who after receiving distinguished kindness from you has singled you out for the attacks of his harmless and impotent fury, has anticipated us by bringing down chastisement on himself: in fact his attempt was such as, being once discovered, to exclude him from any possibility not only of respect but even of license for

¹ Either the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, elder brother of Cicero's chief enemy, or the tribune Gaius Cato, who had proposed to recall Lentulus.

3 the future. Still though I could wish you had learnt this from my experience only, and not in your own person as well, yet I am glad, in spite of your disappointment, that you have seen at no very great cost the wisdom of putting the same value on the professions of the world, which I was taught only after bitter suffering. But this seems to me the proper opportunity for giving you a general explanation of what I mean, as an answer to your questions.

4 You tell me you have been informed by letter that I have had a reconciliation with Caesar and also with Appius, adding that of this you do not disapprove, but hinting that you would like to know how I could have been induced to defend Vatinius and appear in his behalf as a witness to character. In order to explain this thoroughly to you it will be necessary for me to go somewhat deeper into the motives of my policy.

From the very beginning, my dear Lentulus, of those events in which your exertions were displayed, I held that I was restored not only to my friends but to the service of my country; and considered that if I owed you boundless affection and a repayment in person of your unequalled and extraordinary services, so, as my country had heartily co-operated with you in recalling me, I owed her on the score of gratitude at least all the loyalty which I had before rendered not as a return for any special favour conferred on me, but in mere discharge of the common duty of citizens. That such was my conviction the Senate has heard from my lips during your own consulship, and you yourself have perceived its truth from the conversations we have had in our private
5 intercourse. And yet just at the beginning of that very period there were many circumstances to wound my feelings, when I noticed how all your efforts to secure the complete restoration of my rights were met by some people with suppressed dislike or languid enthusiasm for myself. Those, for instance, whose duty it clearly was, would neither give you

any assistance in the matter of that memorial of my name², nor of the outrageous violence which drove my brother and myself together out of house and home; nor even, I declare, when it was proposed to repair my losses under a decree of the Senate (and though I think far less of this, it had yet become absolutely necessary to me in the total shipwreck of my property), would they accord me the sympathy I had looked for. Now though I noticed all this—indeed it was notorious—still the present discovery was not so bitter as the recollection of past services was pleasant. For this reason, 6 though I owed much to Pompeius, as you yourself declared and bore me witness, and always had the highest regard for him, not only for past kindnesses but on the grounds of personal affection and, to a certain extent, an unvarying esteem, still putting his aims out of the question, I held firm throughout to my political principles. It was I who, with Pompeius himself 7 in court (for he had returned to town to speak in favour of the character of Sestius), on hearing Vatinius state in his evidence that it was owing to Caesar's successes and his being the favourite of fortune that I had begun to court his friendship, avowed that I for my part honoured the fate of Bibulus, down-trodden as he might deem it, more than the triumphs and the victories of them all³. Again, in his hearing on another occasion I stated that the people who had prevented Bibulus from quitting his house were the very same who had forced me to quit mine. In fact, the whole of my cross-examination amounted to a complete exposure of his tribuneship: I spoke throughout quite freely and with the warmest indignation of his illegal proceedings, his manipulation of the auspices, his corrupt disposal of kingdoms. Nor was it the 8

² It is doubtful whether this refers (1) to a 'Hall of Liberty,' said to have been erected by Cicero after the Catiline conspiracy, and very probably destroyed in the riots; or (2) to his own house which had been razed by Clodius, and a Temple of Liberty built in its place (Letter xx); or (3) to the adjoining Portico of Catulus on which Clodius had put his own name; or (4) comprises all of them. Compare § 15 below.

³ See Introduction to Letter x.

case that I did so only in this trial; on the contrary many a time I was just as resolute in the Senate: nay, when Marcellinus and Philippus were consuls my proposal on the 5th of April was carried, that the question of the Campanian lands should be reconsidered in a full house on the 15th of May. Could I possibly make a more direct attack on the very stronghold of their policy? or could I do more towards forgetting the hard facts of the present, and remembering only the actions of the past? This proposal of mine was followed by a violent outburst not only from those who were immediately concerned, 9 but from others too of whom I had never expected it. For when the decree of the Senate had been passed as I proposed, Pompeius, without having given any sign of being offended with me, started for Sardinia and Africa, and on his way thither had an interview with Caesar at Lucca. There Caesar complained strongly of my proposal; the truth being that at Ravenna he had previously met Crassus, who had irritated him against me. Of course it was well known that Pompeius also was annoyed at it, as I heard from several hands, and was particularly told by my brother. When Pompeius happened to meet him in Sardinia a few days after leaving Lucca, he said: 'This is indeed fortunate; you are the very man I want to see; if you do not make strong representations to your brother Marcus, we shall call upon you for all you have pledged yourself to on his behalf.' In short, he made a bitter complaint; recounted his previous services; reminded my brother of what he had frequently arranged with him in person about the acts of Caesar, and what he had undertaken to pledge on my behalf; and added that my brother himself would witness that his proceedings to secure my recall had been taken with the full consent of Caesar: wherefore in claiming from me a favourable consideration for their object of paying honour to Caesar he begged I would at least abstain from opposition, if I could not or would not give him my support.

10 When my brother had brought me this news—though it

did not prevent Pompeius from sending Vibullius to me with the request that I would hold myself unpledged about the Campanian question until his return—I reasserted myself, and argued, as it were, thus with my country: that as I had suffered and done so much for her sake, she might at least allow me to fulfil my private duties by showing my gratitude to those who had deserved it, and redeeming my brother's pledge for me; nor ought she to hinder one whom she had ever considered an honourable statesman from approving himself an honourable man. Now through all those proceedings and these expressions of opinion which seemed to give umbrage to Pompeius, the comments of certain people, whose names you ought by this time to be able to guess at, were regularly reported to me. These men, though their political opinions were, and always had been, what I was endeavouring to carry out, used nevertheless to remark with satisfaction that while I was by no means pleasing Pompeius, I should be certain to make Caesar my bitterest enemy. If this was something for me to be annoyed at, how much more when I saw how they were beginning before my very eyes to embrace, and fondle, and caress, and fawn upon my old enemy—mine do I say? he is the foe of law, of justice, of peace, of his country and every decent citizen in it—enough not perhaps to make my blood boil, for I have lost all capacity for that, but at all events for them to imagine they were making it do so? Hereupon then, as far as human foresight could go with me, I made a careful review of my whole position, and on balancing the items arrived with care at the following sum total, which I will now endeavour briefly to lay before you.

For my part, were I to see the constitution entirely in the hands of worthless or wicked men—which has happened before now, within my own recollection as well as at other times—not merely would no temptation induce me—such things indeed weigh but little with me—but no threats of danger, such as I know do stir even the stoutest hearts, should ever compel me to support their cause; no, not though their

claims upon me were of the strongest. But when a man of the character of Gnaeus Pompeius is at the head of affairs, one who has reached that summit of power and eminence by his brilliant exploits and extraordinary public services, a man too whose successful career I have steadily supported from my youth upwards, and had even put myself forward to promote both in my praetorship and consulship; when moreover he had given me the help of his own influence and support, as well as sharing in all your plans and exertions; when, finally, his only enemy in the whole country was mine as well, I did *not* think I should have much to fear from the imputation of timeserving if I slightly changed my language in expressing some of my opinions, and contributed my good wishes to the advancement of our most illustrious countryman, and one moreover who had deserved so much from me.

- 12 Assuming this resolution, I had necessarily, you will admit, to include Caesar in my attentions, their views and interest being so closely allied. Now I was much strengthened in this not only by the old friendship which, as you are well aware, Quintus and I used to have for Caesar, but by his courtesy and generosity, which even in this short time I have good reason to know and appreciate alike from his letters and the attention he has paid me. The interests of our country too were a strong incentive to me, holding as I did that she, so far from consenting to any opposition being made to her great sons, especially after Caesar's brilliant exploits, was resolutely determined not to let this happen. My weightiest impulse however to this resolution arose partly from Pompeius having pledged his word for me to Caesar, and partly from my brother having done the same to Pompeius. Moreover I was bound to recollect the political truth contained in the inspired teaching of my master Plato, that as are the leading men in a State so must the mass of its citizens be ⁴. I had not forgotten

⁴ 'Let no one ever make us believe, my friends, that a State can possibly change its laws more easily or more quickly in any way than when its rulers simply lead the rest.' Plato, *Laws*, p. 711.

how in my consulship from the very first day of the year so firm a basis of strength had been laid for the Senate that no one ought to wonder on the 5th of December⁵ to find so much resolution or spirit in that body. I remembered too that after I had retired from office, down to the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, not only did my opinions carry great weight in the Senate, but the feeling of the worthier citizens was all but unanimous. Afterwards however, with yourself¹³ holding military command in Eastern Spain, and our government administered not so much by consuls as by province-mongers and the hangers-on and feeders of sedition, some chance flung my unhappy self like an apple of discord into the midst of these hot passions of party struggles; when at this critical moment a consensus of opinion, rare even in the Senate, incredibly strong over the whole of Italy, and quite unique among all respectable citizens, manifested itself for my protection. I will not say however what was the result—there are so many people involved, and in such different degrees—I will merely state briefly that where I failed was not in forces, but in leaders for them. And herein whatever blame belongs now to those who failed to defend me lies no less on those who abandoned me; and if any who may have shown timidity ought to be censured, still more ought one to be reproached who could make a pretence of timidity. Surely at any rate for the determination I took I may fairly claim some recognition, in that I refused to expose my fellow-citizens, whom once I had saved and who now wished to save me in turn, all leaderless as they were, to the mercy of a gang of slaves; choosing rather that the world should see how irresistible would have been the strength of our good citizens when once united, had they been allowed to draw the sword for me before my fall, by their having been able so to raise me again after I had been struck down. And that such was their feeling you not only saw beyond doubt when you

⁵ The day when Catilina's fellow-conspirators were strangled by order of the Senate. Compare Letter lxviii. § 1.

were pleading my cause, but have always so asserted and maintained.

- 14 Now on this occasion—so far am I from denying the fact that I shall always recollect it, and readily admit it—you were assisted by some of our noblest citizens, who showed greater vigour in promoting my recall than they had once done in preventing my exile. Had they but been willing to hold fast to their principles, they might have recovered their own authority at the time of my recall. For at a time when the patriotic party had been encouraged by your consulship, and greatly animated by the remarkable resolution and statesmanship of your proceedings in office,—particularly after Pompeius had enlisted himself in the cause,—when moreover Caesar, finding his brilliant exploits distinguished by marked, perhaps unprecedented, honours and acknowledgments on the part of the Senate, was allying himself too with the cause of that order, there would have been no possible opportunity for any person however abandoned to lay impious hands upon our liberties.

- 15 But mark now, I beg, what followed. In the first place, that fiend who makes even feminine devotions his accursed prey, and respected the sanctity of the Holy Goddess no more than he did that of his three sisters, was screened from punishment by the votes of these very men when a tribune relying on the feeling of honest people was endeavouring to get justice done on a turbulent citizen; and thus a splendid opportunity was lost to the country of making an example of sedition for the future⁶.

So again, these same men afterwards allowed a monument—not of myself (for it was built out of no spoils of mine, though my services were engaged for the work), but a monument of the Senate—to be branded, and in letters of blood, with the name of its bitterest foe. Now certainly I am most grateful that these people should have supported

⁶ See Letter viii. for the trial of Clodius. The tribune is either Milo or Racilius, who was also a fierce opponent of Clodius.

my recall : but I could wish they had felt some concern, not only for my recovery as a doctor does, but like trainers who look to one's muscles and healthy complexion. As it is, just like Apelles finishing the head and bust of his Venus to exquisite perfection, and leaving the rest of her a mere sketch, there are certain persons who regarded my restoration as the head and have completed that, but nothing more, leaving everything else about me in the barest outline. But here I disappointed the expectations of those who were 16 watching me, whether with jealous or with hostile eyes. They had formerly heard a false account of that eminently brave and heroic man Quintus Metellus, the son of Lucius Metellus, who in my judgment towered above every one else in resolution and magnanimity. They represent him as having been broken down and dispirited after his recall. [We are to believe then] that one who retired from his country with perfect readiness, and stayed abroad with unmistakeable cheerfulness, never in fact caring to come back, was actually a broken-down man, because of conduct the resolution and dignity of which surpassed every one else, even the great Marcus Scaurus! However, what they had heard reported or even merely imagined about him they forthwith proceeded to apply to me. I humbled for the future! Why, my country was inspiring me with greater courage than ever, in that she had unmistakeably declared me to be the one citizen she could not afford to spare; and whereas Metellus's recall was on the motion of a single tribune, in mine a country of one mind, headed by her Senate, sympathised with by all Italy, with eight tribunes to propose the motion, and a consul to put it to the vote of the people gathered in their centuries—with every class and every individual joining in the effort—in a word, with her whole strength claimed me back again for her own.

Yet never once since that time have I taken upon myself, nor 17 do I at this day take upon me anything that could reasonably give offence to the most malicious critic : my only ambition

is never to be wanting in advice, or assistance, or personal help whether to friends or even to those who may have but a distant claim upon me. Possibly this aim of mine in life awakens the jealousy of those who, while they see the outward splendour of such a life, cannot discern its hidden anxieties and troubles. Certainly they are at no pains to conceal this accusation against me, that my speeches in support of the honours to be paid to Caesar show that I am in some way 'turning my back on my old party.' The fact is that my reasons are partly what I have stated above, partly, and not least, the following consideration, which I was beginning to discuss.

You will not find, my dear Lentulus, the feeling of our loyal citizens as it was when you left. That feeling, renewed in strength by my consulship, afterwards for a while impaired, trampled under foot in the years before you were consul, but brought by you to new life, has now been totally neglected by the very men most bound to respect it. Not merely in external signs or the changes of countenance, where false pretences are easiest, do those men who used when I was in power to be claimed as good conservatives show this, but they have even frequently impressed it on us before now by their
18 votes in the Senate and the law-courts. So it is that at last both the policy and the objects of all moderate politicians (as one of whom I should claim to range myself and to be classed by others) have with justice veered completely round: just as Plato again, the great master whose teaching I earnestly strive to follow, bids us never to press our opinions in politics beyond the point to which we can carry our fellow-citizens with us; seeing that you have no more right to use violence to your country than you would to your own mother⁷. And in fact he alleges that this was the cause of his abstaining from public life, because finding Athens now well nigh in her dotage [and holding it equally impossible to guide her by argument or by force] he despaired of his powers of per-

⁷ 'If it be monstrous to use force to father or mother, how much more to one's country?' Plato, *Criton*, p. 51.

suasion, while he would not admit the lawfulness of force⁸. My case was different, because I was already committed, having neither a people in their dotage to deal with, nor an open choice as to whether I should take part in politics: still I was glad to have the opportunity in one and the same question of supporting a policy at once advantageous to myself and honourable to any patriotic citizen. To these considerations was added a memorable, almost more than human generosity of Caesar to my brother and myself, so that he could justly claim support from me whatever his success: as it is, after such a brilliant career and such victories as his, even were he not what he is to me, I should ever deem him a man we might delight to honour. For I must ask you to believe that, leaving out you and others who have given me back to life again, there is no human being to whose kindness I not only profess but am proud to be so indebted.

Having now laid these facts before you, I find it easy to 10 answer your questions about my relations to Vatinius and Crassus; for as to Appius you write that you cannot blame me with respect to him any more than Caesar, and I am rejoiced to have your approval of my conduct. To take Vatinius then. Immediately on his election to the praetorship a reconciliation was effected between us in the first instance by means of Pompeius, though I admit I had made some uncompromising speeches in the Senate against his claims, but not so much with the object of attacking him as of supporting and eulogising Cato. This was followed by an unusually strong request from Caesar that I would undertake the defence. But why speak highly of him? Nay, I entreat you not to press me with this either about this client in question or anybody else, lest I retort on yourself when you return. In fact there is no reason why I should not even before you come. Just think of the people to whom you have sent letters of recommendation from the ends of the earth. But you need not be so afraid: I myself always do and always

⁸ This alludes to a passage in Plato's fifth Letter, p. 322.

mean to recommend these gentlemen in question. However in defending Vatinius I had also a spice of the motive of which I spoke on the trial when I was pleading for him, and remarked that I was following pretty much the advice of the Parasite in 'The Eunuch' to the Captain :

' If she with Phaedria's name your passion try,
Do you with Pamphila at once reply ;
Should she for Phaedria languish o'er the wine,
Say you, " A song from Pamphila be mine ;"
If she the youth, do you the maid extol ;
Meet thrust by thrust, an so you touch her soul*.'

Accordingly, as I told the gentlemen who tried this case, since certain people of high position who had formerly been very kind to me were now parading rather too great affection for my avowed enemy, and before my very eyes were frequently taking him apart in the Senate, perhaps for grave consultation, or perhaps to greet him warmly like his dearest friends, in fact as they had taken up one Publius, I must really claim their consent to my having the benefit of another, by whose help I, as being slightly mortified, might just take this gentle revenge on my friends' susceptibilities. It was not a mere threat, for I often really put it in practice, and before heaven and earth my conduct stands approved.

- 20 Enough of Vatinius : now hear what I have to say about Crassus. For my own part, as I had still much of the old feeling for him (for I had been eager as far as possible to bury in oblivion for the sake of harmony in the common cause all recollection of the very serious injuries he had done me), I could have borne even his unexpected defence of Gabinius, whom a few days before he had bitterly attacked, had he set about it without any abuse of me. But when on my arguing the question with him he went out of his way to attack me unprovoked, I flashed out at once, not merely with indignation at the actual circumstance, for that probably

* Terence, *Eunuchus*, iii. 1. 50.

would not have been very deep, but through the pent-up dislike inspired by his perpetual assaults, which I fancied I had entirely got rid of, but must I suppose have been latent somewhere in me, coming all at once to the surface. Well, upon this very occasion certain people, including those individuals whom I generally allude to by [signs or] hints, while they professed to have derived great advantage from my plain-speaking, and that now at last they looked upon me as really coming back to politics like my old self (and as a matter of fact that passage of arms actually did help me considerably even with the outside public), nevertheless expressed satisfaction that he was now thoroughly estranged from me, and that those who were rowing in the same boat would never again make friends with me. As these malicious remarks were reported to me by men on whom I could thoroughly depend, and as Pompeius's entreaties could not possibly have been more pressing than they were that I would make up my quarrel with Crassus, and Caesar showed plainly in his letters that he was much concerned at our difference, I obeyed the dictates alike of circumstances and my natural feelings: and Crassus, that our good understanding might be made as public at Rome as possible, started for his province, one might almost say from under my roof; for, as he had expressed a wish to be invited, he dined with me at the seat of my son-in-law, Crassipes. Thus it was that I came, as you say you have heard, to support his cause in the Senate, under the strongest recommendations from our eminent citizen, as indeed I was in honour bound to do when I had once undertaken it.

Now I have laid before you the reasons which induced 21 me in each case to defend particular measures or causes, and a statement of my individual position with reference to the politics of the day. On this I must ask you to believe me, that my feeling would have been precisely the same, had I been entirely free and unfettered in action; for my deliberate opinion was that it was not advisable to resist

such superior strength, nor to abolish (even if that were possible) the just preeminence accorded to our leading men : in short, that we ought not obstinately to hold by a rigid opinion when circumstances are so entirely changed, and with them the views of the most patriotic citizens, but that we must move with the times. Obstinately to hold to one unvarying opinion has never been accounted among the merits of those eminent men who have guided the helm of State. Just as the pilot's art is shown in weathering the storm at least, even when you cannot make the port, whereas when an opportunity offers of getting there by shifting your sails, it is sheer folly to take the risks of keeping on the course you have begun, rather than consent to change it, if you can anyhow get to the welcome haven ; precisely so, if what I have frequently quoted be true, that the supreme object of us statesmen should always be the preservation of peace with honour, we are not bound always to use the same language, but always to keep the same end in view. For this reason, to repeat what I stated above, were various courses all equally open to me, still I should in politics be no other than I am : but now that kindness from some is attracting, and ingratitude from others driving me to the same disposition, I have no reluctance in holding and expressing those political opinions which seem to me most conducive to the interests alike of myself and the State at large. I do this however all the more frequently and unreservedly because not only is my brother Quintus on Caesar's staff, but because not the slightest word, much less action on my part in Caesar's interest has ever passed without his receiving it with gratitude so marked as to give the appearance of his being under the greatest obligation to me. The result is that I have the benefit of his influence, overwhelming as it is, and the enormous wealth you know he possesses, as though they were my own ; nor do I see how in any other way I could have succeeded in breaking down the scoundrelly intrigues against me, except by supplementing now the safe-

guards I have always possessed by a friendly alliance with powerful people. These opinions, even had I had the benefit 22 of your society, I am inclined to think I should still have adopted in full; for I know the candour and moderation of your nature; I know that your feelings, while most affectionate to me, conceal no tinge of bitterness against the rest of us; on the contrary, they are no less open and sincere than they are large-hearted and sublime. I have myself seen certain people prove to you exactly what you could not but see they were to me. All that has influenced me must surely have influenced you too. But however long it be before I have the happiness of again being with you, you shall be my guide in every action: you who once protected me from danger shall again protect me from dishonour. Of this at least I am sure, that you will find me ready to take my part at your side in every act or sentiment or wish, in a word, in everything that is yours; nor shall any purpose of my life be so dear to me as that day by day you should have stronger reason to rejoice that you have been my kindest friend.

✓ You ask me to send you any literary work I may have 23 been engaged on since your departure. I have some speeches which I will give to Menocritus, but, not to frighten you, there are not very many of them. I have written moreover—as I am trying to divorce myself from the Bar, and wooing again the gentler Muses who from my very boyhood have been as much as now my chief delight—I have written, I say, on the model of Aristotle (as far at least as intention goes) [a discussion or dialogue in] three books, called ‘The Orator,’ which I think may be not without value to your son Lentulus, because they reject entirely the orthodox treatment, and embody the principles of rhetoric as laid down both by Aristotle and Isocrates, and all the elder writers. I have also written an autobiography in three books of verse, ✓ which I would have sent to you before this had I had the idea of publishing them, for they will be a lasting memorial of your kindness to me and my gratitude in return; but

[the fact was] I was afraid, not so much of people who might fancy themselves attacked (which indeed I have done gently and sparingly), as of those whom it would have been an endless task to enumerate in full as having laid me under obligations. Still as to these particular books, if I succeed in finding anybody to whom I can safely entrust them, I will take care they shall be sent to you. Indeed all this side of my life and work I submit unreservedly to you; all the literary and all the philosophic work, my old recreations, that I ever succeed in completing I shall have much pleasure in referring entirely to the critical judgment of one who has always delighted in such pursuits.

- 24 The private matters you mention in your letter and beg me not to forget seem to me so much a part of my own that I do not like to be reminded of them; indeed I can scarcely help feeling hurt you should ask it. As to the service which my brother Quintus wants done for him, you tell me you were hindered by ill-health from travelling into Cilicia, and so could not effect a settlement last summer, but now will spare no pains to get it done. I assure you that this is important enough for my brother justly to regard himself, if you procure him this additional land, as really indebted to you for the satisfactory settlement of his estate. I should be glad if as frequently as possible you would tell me as an intimate friend any news about yourself, or about the studies and first essays of your son Lentulus, who is almost mine also; for believe me no man was ever dearer to another or more longed for than you are by me; and this I mean that not only you but all the world shall feel, and even future generations shall recognise.
- 25 Appius has now publicly declared in the House what he frequently stated before in private conversation, that if not prevented from getting a confirmation by the people of his command he will cast lots with his colleague for the two provinces. Should he fail to get this confirmation, it is his intention to make a private arrangement with his colleague,

and become your successor. He asserts that this confirmation by the people is for a consul only a matter of expediency, not of necessity; his own province, being given him by a decree of the Senate, entitles him to full military power under Sulla's act, until such time as he shall have entered the limits of the city. For my own part, without knowing what the individual sentiments of your correspondents may be, I fancy opinion is much divided. Some individuals think that it is open to you not to resign your province, because your successor has not been formally authorised by the people voting in their districts; others again, that if you do resign it, you are entitled to leave a successor in charge. To me it seems that the legal point is not so clear—though even that can hardly be called doubtful—as that you are bound by your own eminent position, your self-respect, and your independence, which I know you always prize so highly, without any delay to give up the province to your successor; more especially as you cannot oppose his over-eagerness for office, without a suspicion of over-eagerness on your own part. For myself, I recognise a double duty; first to tell you my own opinion, secondly to defend your decision whatever it proves to be.

P.S. Since writing the above letter I have received your **26** note about the contractors for the taxes. Your fairness to them one cannot but respect; at the same time I wish your readiness to oblige could have secured you from coming into collision with the interests or the sympathies of a class to which you have always paid great respect. For my own part, I shall not fail to support your decrees, but you know the way of these people, and are aware what formidable enemies these very men proved themselves to Quintus Scaevola. I would still advise you, if you can in any way, to recover the good graces of that class, or at any rate to mollify them. Though this may be difficult, it seems to me within the reach of your sagacity.

XXX. (AD FAM. II. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS SCRIBONIUS CURIO, ON HIS
RETURN FROM ASIA MINOR.

January, 701 A.V.C. (53 B.C.)

Scribonius Curio the younger, afterwards Caesar's ablest lieutenant, though he is referred to contemptuously in Letter vii. § 5 as 'that slip of a girl,' was about this time one of Cicero's most favoured correspondents. (Abeken, p. 213.) The present stiff, yet characteristic letter is sent to meet him at once on landing from Asia, where he had been quaestor, and enlist his sympathies for Milo in the coming election of consuls. Milo would probably have been elected but for an affray between himself and Clodius, with their retainers, on the Appian Road, on Jan. 17, in which the latter was killed. This led to such fierce rioting at Rome that Pompeius was created Dictator, but in order to avoid the name he was only entitled 'Sole Consul.' Pompeius was at this time pro-consul of Spain with an army there, and he still had the supreme control of supplies. Thus his position was quite unconstitutional, and to all appearance far more powerful than Caesar's. It is epigrammatically described by Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 28. Milo was tried and condemned to banishment in April; and in July Pompeius resigned his virtual dictatorship by accepting his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, as his colleague in the consulship.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 322-327; Merivale, ii. pp. 27-37, 75-90; Forsyth, ch. 16; Abeken, pp. 206-210.

- 1 I have not yet received any news of your arrival in Italy at the time of dispatching the bearer of this letter—Sextus Villius, an intimate acquaintance of my friend Milo—to meet you; but though it is thought your arrival may now be expected at any time, and we are assured that you have already left Asia *en route* for Rome, the importance of my object has relieved me from any fear about writing with undue haste, since I am extremely anxious for these lines to reach you as soon as possible.

For my own part, my dear Curio, if I stood alone in rendering you any services, and they were really as important as you are good enough to represent them rather than as they are estimated by myself, I should have greater scruples in pressing upon you a request for any considerable favour. It is unpleasant to a man of any delicacy to ask anything of importance from one whom he regards as under an obligation

to himself, lest he should seem to be demanding it rather of right than of grace, and meaning it to count rather for a debt paid than a kindness conferred. But since those too which ² you have rendered to me have been either done in the sight of all men, or become famous by the very strangeness of my lot, and since it is the test of a generous disposition, if you owe much to your friend, to wish that to him your obligations could be multiplied, I have had no hesitation in writing to ask you a favour which to me would be a very great one, and almost of the last importance. I had indeed no fear of not being able to bear the weight of your kindnesses, however countless; especially since I had full confidence that no favour could be so great but that my heart would find room for its reception, nay, be able in repaying to heap it up in full and conspicuous measure.

Now all my hopes, all my energies, my labour and devotion, ³ my every thought—in a word my whole soul—I have set on the one object of seeing Milo elected consul; and I have decided that it is my bounden duty in his case not only to seek the solid fruits of such service as I can render, but also some distinction for true affection¹. And it is really true that no one, I think, ever set such a value on his own life or fortunes as I do on getting this high place for him, on whom it is my settled belief that my future all depends. To him I perceive that you above all people have it in your power, if you choose to exercise it, to render such material assistance that we need look no further. In our favour there are all the following points,—the support

¹ 'Officii fructum' has given rise to needless doubts. Wieland's rendering 'a recompense for his services' may be at once rejected, seeing that the verb is *quaerere*, unless indeed with Mr. Watson we understand a totally different verb such as *praestare* out of it. Metzger's and Hofmann's 'a recompense for my services' would be too naked for any one but a Cynic to express in words, and would have shocked Cicero. The rendering given above is perfectly simple and suits the context. 'Officium' and 'pietas' are used in the same sense as here in the opening of Letter xxi: 'pietas' is much the stronger, since it implies *personal* affection. The fruits looked for are simply success.

of every right-minded citizen, which has been his ever since his tribuneship, for the way he fought my battle (as I hope you are aware he did);—of the populace and the lower classes, thanks to the magnificence of the shows he has given them, and his generous disposition;—the sympathy of our young bloods, and all the people who are most influential in getting votes, thanks to his own remarkable influence, or it may be his activity in that line;—my own vote and interest, which if not so powerful as the rest has at least stood some trial, and is his right and due, and may therefore even carry some weight.

- 4 What we absolutely require is a leader and a guiding mind—in short, one who will know how to make the right use of these winds I have been describing, and be as it were our pilot. Now had we to select the one man for our purpose in all the world, there is nobody we could even name beside you. Therefore if you can see reason to believe that I am constant and grateful, and true to my friends (as my present devoted struggle for Milo may perhaps show); if, in short, you deem me a worthy recipient for it, this is the favour I have to ask: help me in this my earnest wish, and declare your support now for the side on which my honour, or, to tell the plain truth, I may almost say my safety is involved. As to Annius Milo himself, I can promise you this much, that you will not find a man anywhere with more resolution, earnestness, consistency, or if you will but espouse his cause, with more warmth of gratitude: while as for me, you will be heaping upon me such an honour, and such a distinction, that I shall not be slow to acknowledge that you have done as much now for my reputation as in former
- 5 days you did for my preservation. I would write at greater length did I not feel sure that you perceive, from my saying thus much to you, how deeply I am pledged, and how I must exert myself in Milo's behalf, not only at the cost of the utmost toil, but even of dangerous encounters. I have only now to commend this charge entirely into your hands, and with his success I am entrusting to you my very self. Of this at least be well assured: that when you have

granted me this favour, I shall feel my debt to you to be almost greater than to Milo himself: for my own preservation, which I owe in so large a degree to him, is scarcely so dear to me as the thought is pleasant that I may now show my affection by returning his kindness. And for this I fully believe I need no concurrence but yours to insure success.

XXXI. (AD ATT. V. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT ATHENS TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

July 6, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

The year 53 B.C. was signalised by the ill-starred expedition of Crassus into Syria, ending with his total defeat at Carrhae, and murder at Sinnaca, June 9. This not only imperilled the Roman empire in the East, but materially helped to precipitate the civil war, by leaving Caesar without a make-weight to Pompeius; and the death of Caesar's daughter Julia, the dearly-loved wife of Pompeius, in 54 B.C., had sundered a strong tie between the rivals. The growing breach was made manifest when Pompeius now refused to marry Octavia, the grand-daughter of Caesar's sister, choosing instead the daughter of so typical a member of the senatorial party as Quintus Metellus Scipio. For the death of Clodius, and the election of Pompeius as Sole Consul, see Introduction to the preceding letter.

The consuls for 51 B.C. were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, a vehement leader of the senatorial party, and the more moderate and learned Servius Sulpicius Rufus. Attacks on Caesar, direct and indirect, were numerous, the one which apparently caused the greatest sensation being an outrageous act of Marcellus. Caesar had extended, perhaps irregularly, to the Transpadane Gauls, that is to Upper Italy, the privileges at least of the Latins, and possibly of full Roman citizens (see esp. Mommsen, iv. 2. 312, and Mr. Watson's note on § 2 of this letter, and compare Introd. to Letter lxxvi); but Marcellus seized an opportunity to scourge an eminent senator, if not a magistrate, of Novum Comum (Como), bidding him go and show the marks to his patron.

An act of Pompeius in his sole consulship provided that no one should be eligible for the Governorship of a Province until after five years from his time of office; and a clause was appended that all ex-consuls and ex-praetors who had not yet served should be compelled to draw for a province. In this way Cicero, much against his will, became Governor of Cilicia, a large province which included all the southern half of Asia Minor and the island of Cyprus. His predecessor was Appius Claudius Pulcher, elder brother of Publius Clodius, who had ravaged, plundered, and oppressed the province in the usual proconsular way. (Compare Mommsen, iv. 2. 532; Beesly, Catiline, pp. 4-9; De Quincey, Essay on Cicero, quoted in Forsyth, p. 308; Introduction to

Letter xv.) Cicero's own administration seems to have been just, considerate, and popular, and to have deserved a considerable part of the praises of it which fill his letters of this period; but he cannot be acquitted of injustice to the Salaminians (Letters xxxvi, xxxviii), except by comparison with other proconsuls.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 328-347; Merivale, ii. 1-27, 75-100; Abeken, pp. 217-263; Forsyth, ch. 17.

- 1 Whew! can I have been writing so often to Rome, and never a line to you? Well, henceforth I will write without any reason rather than commit the crime of not sending a letter at all, provided I find anybody to whom I can safely entrust it. As you hope to be happy, now while you are on the spot use every scheme that may be schemed to prevent my governorship from being prolonged. Nobody knows how I am burning with desire for town; how I can scarcely bear the insipidity of everything here.
- 2 This is most discreditable about Marcellus and the citizen of Comum: even supposing the man proves not to have held office, yet at any rate he belonged to the Transpadane district. Therefore it seems to me he has put our friend's back up
- 3 as much as Caesar's; but this he must look to himself. As to Pompeius, I myself fancied, as you say Varro tells you, that he is sure to go to Spain. I could not at all approve of this: in fact, I easily persuaded Theophanes that the best possible course was that he should go nowhere at all. So the Greek will put the pressure on, and his advice counts for a good deal with his chief.
- 4 I send this July 6, on leaving Athens, where I have been stopping just ten days. Pomptinus is arrived, and with him Gnaeus Volusius; the quaestor too is here, and nobody but your friend Tullius away. I have some open boats of the Rhodians, and biremes of the Mytileneans, besides a number of smaller *chaloupes*. There is no news about the Parthians. Let us trust in heaven for what is coming.
- 5 So far, I have made my way through Greece amid great applause; in fact, hitherto I have had nothing to complain of among my own people; they seem to be fully aware of my

aims, and the conditions on which they attend me. They are clearly overawed by my reputation. For the future, if there be any truth in the saying *tel maître*¹, they will certainly persevere; for they shall never see me do a single thing in any way that would justify delinquency in them. If this however should entirely fail I shall have to adopt severer measures; for hitherto, with my lenient inclinations, I have been mild with them, and hope I am doing some good. But for my own part I have calculated on this *sofferenza* (as our Sicilian friends call it) only for a year; so be my champion, or I may be found an impostor if they prolong my term ever so little.

To return now to your commissions. As to the prefects,² any of them you wish shall have exemption from service: send me their names³, and I will not be so *difficile* as I was about Appuleius. I have as much regard for Xenon as you have yourself, and I am sure he is sensible of it. I have brought you into high favour with Patron and the rest of the stupid school, and upon my word you have deserved it of me, for the man told me three times over you had written to him that after his letter I had taken pains to do what he wanted³, and that gave him immense pleasure. But though Patron had appealed to me to ask your High Court to rescind the *arrêté*

¹ 'Tel maître, tel valet,' corresponding to the Greek 'You may know the mistress by her lap-dog' (Plato, Rep. viii. p. 563), and to our 'Like master, like man.'

² The sentence might just possibly be translated thus as it stands, but 'excusatio' = discharge or exemption is only found in Ulpian, and there can be little doubt that the word is corrupt. Gronovius, approved by Boot, and Orelli both suspect it to be a corruption of 'negotiator,' alluding to Cicero's refusal to appoint any one in trade to a military command, for which see Letter xxxvi. § 10.

³ Gaius Memmius, now in banishment for bribery (see Letter xxxviii. § 7), had obtained a grant of the venerable ruins of Epicurus's house, and, there being no Ancient Monuments Act in those days, intended to build upon them. This scandalised the Epicurean philosophers, whom Cicero so sarcastically describes, and they procured his mediation with Memmius. The letter alluded to is still extant (Ad Fam. xiii. 1). See Forsyth, p. 315; Abeken, p. 222.

they had passed in Polycharmus's year, both Xenon and eventually Patron too thought it would be more convenient for me to write to Memmius (who had started for Mytilene the very day before I arrived at Athens) and get him to send word to his agents that he had no opposition to make to this; for Xenon was positive that the Areopagus could not be got to grant this favour without the consent of Memmius. Now Memmius had already abandoned his intention of building, but was annoyed with Patron, so I wrote him a letter in carefully chosen terms, a copy of which I enclose.

- 7 Please say something comforting to Pilia which might naturally come from me⁴—I will tell you why I give you this hint, only not a word of it to her. The fact is that I received a budget of letters, and among them was one from Pilia, which I took out and opened and read it. The tone of the letter was entirely *sympathique*. Those which you received from Brundisium were of course sent off without one from me because I was then far from well, so you must not take this excuse as being a mere *banalité*⁵. Mind and keep me informed of everything, and particularly of your being well.

XXXII. (AD ATT. V. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT SYNNAS IN PHRYGIA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

- 1 I am on the march, and indeed at this very moment on the road, but the messengers of the tax-contractors are just about

⁴ Pilia was the wife of Atticus (compare Letter xxiii. § 7), and had apparently written to Quintus Cicero, to condole with him on the unhappy temper of his wife Pomponia, Atticus's sister. For 'meis verbis' compare Letter cxii. § 8. It cannot mean 'give her a message from me,' because Cicero expressly charges Atticus not to tell her about opening the letter. On this lax morality in this respect compare Forsyth, p. 315; Letters xvi. § 8; xlii. § 4.

⁵ This word is corrupt, and none of the suggestions for it are very happy, but the sense is fairly clear. Some word meaning 'hackneyed' (*vopalar*, *Boot*) seems to be included in it.

to start, and though we are moving along I thought I must snatch a moment, lest you should fancy I have forgotten your injunction. Accordingly I am now sitting by the road-side to send a few jottings about things which really want a fuller explanation. I assure you that my arrival on the last day of 2 July in this province, broken down and hopelessly ruined as it is, excited immense expectations. I stayed three days at Laodicea, three at Apamea, and the same at Synnas. Everywhere it has been the same story: [that they cannot pay] the *taille* which has been imposed at so much a head; that everybody has had to sell out of the very *placement*¹ he had made with his money; that there are groans and cries from every district; some things too monstrous to be the acts of a human being, but some terrible wild beast. In short, their life is simply a burden to them. Still the wretched 3 cities are finding some relief in having no expense whatever to incur, either for myself, or my staff, or my paymaster, or anybody. I assure you I not only decline to accept forage, and all that is usually allowed us under Caesar's act, but even fire-wood: none of us in fact accepts a single thing beyond four beds and the shelter of a roof; in many places not even the roof, and we not uncommonly stay in our tent. The consequence is that there is astonishing enthusiasm about coming to greet us from the country, from the villages, and from every house. I solemnly declare that my coming here, if nothing else, seems to be making them lift their heads again under the just, forbearing, and merciful rule of your Cicero; he has so exceeded all expectation. Appius, when he heard of 4 our approach, flung himself into a corner of the province, as far as Tarsus in fact, and holds his court there. I hear nothing about the Parthians, but the people who come from Syria report that our cavalry has been cut to pieces by some wild hordes. Bibulus does not even yet think of going to his

¹ The meaning of *dvds* is not very clear, except that it is certainly meant to be in sharp contrast to 'venditas.' It may be either contracts for taxes (Lidd, and Scott), or investments ('emptions'), as Orelli renders it.

province: the reason of this they say is that he does not want to leave any earlier than he can help. I am hurrying on to reach our camp, which is two days distant.

XXXIII. (AD FAM. VIII. 4.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

August 1, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.).

Cicero's principal correspondent during his government of Cilicia, as we have no letters of Atticus, was Caelius Rufus, tribune of the preceding year and aedile in the next. These letters are so interesting and important that a separate edition of his correspondence with Cicero has been published (by Suringar, Leyden, 1846). Letters xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, and xli are from him. Abeken says of them (p. 253) that 'they serve by their triviality to convince us of Cicero's superiority;' but this is a harsh judgment. The style differs somewhat from Cicero's, and a few unusual and perhaps rough phrases have been pointed out, but they have a vigour and piquant flavour of their own, and he is known to have been quite in the front rank both of the orators and the literary men of his time. Like most Romans, however, he was absolutely blind to the momentous issues of the coming struggle, and seems far more concerned about the gossip of the elections and the chance of getting panthers out of the Governor of Cilicia for the public games than the movements of Pompeius and Caesar. M. Boissier (*Cicéron et ses Amis*) justly selects him as the type of young Rome.

The principal events alluded to in this letter are the election of Gaius Claudius Marcellus, a cousin of both his predecessor and his successor, and of the same politics with them, to the consulship (his colleague was Lucius Aemilius Paulus); the candidature of Gaius Curio, often mentioned in these letters, for the tribuneship, in which he was successful; and the continually growing murmurs in the Senate about Caesar's recall.

The history of the diplomatic war between Pompeius and Caesar preceding the appeal to the sword is given with great brilliancy by Mommsen, iv. 2. 346-361; compare Merivale, ii. ch. 13.

- 1 I am quite envious of you: every day you have such a quantity of news arriving for a surprise. First of all there is the fact of Messalla's acquittal, followed immediately by his conviction; then that Gaius Marcellus has been elected consul; that Marcus Calpidius immediately on his defeat was impeached by the brothers Gallius; and that Dolabella has

been elected into the Fifteen.¹ One thing I do not envy you for is missing a splendid sight, in not having seen the face of Lentulus Crus when he was not elected! How confident he was, to be sure, and how safe he thought he was when he entered! and that with Dolabella himself doubtful of success! Indeed, by Jove, if our good friends the knights had not been more sharp-sighted he would have been likely enough to win his election from his adversary retiring. I suppose you were not surprised at the fact that Servaeus, the tribune elect, was convicted. Gaius Curio is a candidate for his place. I quite admit that he provokes considerable suspicion from a great many people, who do not know him and his kindly nature; but I hope and trust, as we may judge from the way he is conducting himself, that he will be on the right side, and all for the Senate. In his present state he is oozing this from every pore; and the cause and beginning of his present leanings is that Caesar, though he will always win the affections of the veriest dregs of the people at any cost, has slighted him not a little: and by the bye the best of it all, as it seems to me, and as other people too [before now] have noticed, is that Curio, who never acts upon calculation, should be thought to show great foresight and cunning in upsetting the plans of those who thrust themselves forward against him for the tribuneship: such as the Laelii and Antonii, and people of that sort who have influence.

I have been a longer time than usual in sending you this letter, because the adjournments of the elections have kept me too busy, and made me every day be expecting the final result, when I could let you know how everything was settled. I have now waited positively until the 1st of August. Several delays have befallen the election of praetors. As to my election, I do not know how that will end; but, at any rate, as to

¹ The Fifteen was a sacred college which had charge of the Sibylline books, and could thus exercise a powerful political influence. See an instance in the Introduction to Letter xxi.

Hirrus's chance we had an amazingly plain hint in the election of aediles. For that stupid suggestion of Caelius Vinicianus, which we laughed down ever so long ago, when he wanted to have the dictatorship revived, suddenly crushed him now, and was used as a cry to hunt him down with after his defeat; since which time they have all been bawling that Hirrus is not to be elected now. I hope you will very shortly hear, all in one, the news about me which you hoped for, and 4 about him which you hardly ventured to hope for. As to politics, we had already quite given up hoping for any change: in the meeting of the Senate however at the temple of Apollo on the 22nd of July, when it was proposed to vote a grant for the troops of Pompeius, attention was called to the legion which he had transferred to Caesar—whose legion was it to be reckoned? how long was it asked for? and so on. Pompeius replied that it was now in Gaul, but he was compelled to promise that he would withdraw the legion, though not immediately after such a malicious display of insinuation and invective. This led to questions about the appointment of a successor to Caesar. To settle this question [I mean about the provinces] it was decided that Pompeius should return to Rome at the earliest opportunity, so that he might be present at the appointment of successors to the various provinces; for he was then just about to start for Ariminum, where his army was, and did indeed set out immediately. We shall have a debate on this question, I imagine, on the 13th. Unquestionably some arrangement will have to be made, or there will be a scandalous use of the veto; for in the debate Pompeius pointedly dropped the expression that to the orders of the Senate everybody owed obedience. Still, for my own part, there is nothing I look forward to so much as having Paulus give us his opinion first as the consul elect.

5 I am somewhat persistent in reminding you of that bond of Sittius, but I want you to recognise that it is a matter which touches me nearly. Also about those panthers—will you send for some from Cibra, and give orders for their being shipped

out to me? Then, again, I have had news (and they say it is a certainty now) that the King of Alexandria is dead. Do be sure to write and let me know what steps you would recommend taking, what state his kingdom is in, and who is to be regent. Aug. 1.

XXXIV. (AD FAM. VIII. 8.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

Oct. 1, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

The breach between the two rulers was now becoming daily more open, as is illustrated by § 9 of this letter. Since the Pompeio-Licinian act of 55 B.C. forbade the discussion of Caesar's successor until the beginning of his last year of office, the filling up of his proconsulship by the Senate was placed by consent of Pompeius in the order of the day for March 1, 50 B.C. Caelius encloses also in his letter three resolutions: (1) that no one be allowed to hinder this discussion; (2) that the claims of Caesar's soldiers to a discharge be brought before the Senate, which was an attempt to break up Caesar's army; (3) that provision be made for the government of the nine praetorian provinces by ex-praetors only, which was apparently an attempt to diminish the number of provinces available for ex-consuls, and so to strengthen the argument for Caesar's recall by the necessity for circulation in the prizes of a consulship. (See Mr. Watson's note on the passage.) All three were of course vetoed by the tribunes in Caesar's interest. It must be remembered that the vital necessity for Caesar was not to resign the proconsulship until he was safely assured of the consulship, or he would inevitably be impeached. By the law as it stood before 54 B.C. no successor could be appointed to him until the autumn of 49, by which time Caesar would be a consul and safe from impeachment. But by Pompeius's new act his vacancy would be filled up reckoning from the day it legally began, viz. March 1. To put the debate in the order for that day, therefore, was to intimate that the letter of the law thus altered would be put in force. This was a *casus belli*.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 348-352; Merivale, ii. 95-99; Abeken, 261-263; Forsyth, p. 342.

Though I have some politics to tell you there is nothing in my budget that will, I fancy, give you greater pleasure than this. Learn then that Sempronius Rufus—[your dear Rufus,] the apple of your eye, you know—has been convicted, amid loud applause, of bringing a false accusation with malice! How was that? Why, after the Roman games he laid an

information under Plotius's act against Marcus Tuccius, who was the plaintiff against him, for breaking the peace, with this object: he knew that if there was no other defendant with a prior right to be tried on the list, his case would have to come on in the present year, and of course he could not have any doubt then what the result would be. So there being nobody it would give him greater pleasure to oblige with this little trifle than his own prosecutor, without even getting a soul to back him in the charge, down he came and laid information against Tuccius. As for myself, the moment I heard of it off I go, without waiting to be asked, and take my place in the defendant's box. Rising to speak, I avoid saying a word about the case itself, but press Sempronius so mercilessly as even to bring in all about Vestorius and the old story, how 'purely as a favour to you' he allowed Vestorius to claim what it was so very unfair for him to have to pay.

- 2 We have another important disputed case, too, which is now occupying the courts. Marcus Servilius, having come to the complete smash to which he had been leading up, and not having a thing left that was not for sale, was passed on to me as a client; and a terribly bad reputation he had. Laterensis, who was trying the case, refused to entertain an application for recovery against those into whose hands the money had passed, in spite of the expostulations of Pausanias, I of course objecting for the defendant, and another impeachment for embezzlement was therefore commenced by Quintus Pilius (he is some relation of our friend Atticus). The news at once spread like wildfire, and people began to insist warmly that there must be a conviction. This shifting of the wind drove young Appius into stating in evidence that a large sum out of his father's wealth had been paid over to Servilius. £70,000, he avowed, had been placed in his hands to procure a collusion on the part of the accuser! What amazing folly! you say; but oh, if you had heard the trial itself, and the confessions he made! They were idiotic enough even about himself, but iniquitous about his own father.

Well, he is willing to let the very same judges who had ³ assessed his father's fine try the case. On the whole number of votes proving to be equal, Laterensis, who knows no law at all, announced that the decision was by a majority of votes in the three orders taken separately, and ended the case in the usual form that 'no restitution would be required.' After the court broke up, however, when people had begun to talk of Servilius as already acquitted, he read section 101 of the Act, which ran thus: 'A verdict of the majority of the whole number of jurors in the case shall be accepted as final, and judgment pronounced accordingly.' Consequently he refused to enter an acquittal, but reported the verdicts of the different orders; but as Appius recommenced his suit, he consented, after a consultation with Lucius Lollius, to enter an acquittal. So as matters now stand, Servilius, being neither acquitted nor condemned, will be handed over, somewhat damaged by his battle, to the mercies of Pilius on a charge of peculation. For Appius, after taking the oath that it was a *bona fide* charge, did not venture to contend with Pilius the right to prosecute, but retired, and has now himself been impeached by the family of Servilius for peculation; and to crown it all, he has had information laid against him for a breach of public order by a certain spy of his own, one Sextus Tettius. Nicely matched, that pair!

As for politics, absolutely nothing has been done for days, ⁴ because we are waiting to know about the Gallic provinces. At length, however, after frequent postponements and the fullest discussion, and when it had been ascertained beyond doubt that Pompeius's inclinations were on the whole in favour of a resolution for his rival's recall after the 1st of March, the enclosed decree was passed, and the following orders entered on the minutes.

COPY OF THE DECREE.

By order of the Senate, meeting in the temple of Apollo, this ⁵ 30th day of September.

We the undersigned were present at the drawing up of this decree.

Name.	Father's Name.	Tribe.
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus	Gnæus.	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio .	Quintus.	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis	Lucius.	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius	Titus.	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus	Gaius.	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio	Gaius.	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito	Lucius.	Aniensis.
Marcus Eppius	Marcus.	Teretina.

Whereas the consul Marcus Marcellus has brought before this House the question concerning the provinces to be assigned only to such as have held the office of consul¹: be it resolved that Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus, consuls elect, shall after their entry upon office, from the 1st day of March next, falling during their term of office, bring the question of the consular provinces before the consideration of this House; and that this motion shall from the 1st of March take precedence of all other motions before the House, nor shall the consuls propose any other in combination with it. For this purpose it shall be lawful to hold a meeting of the Senate, whose decrees shall be valid upon a day of election; and when the consuls bring the question before the notice of the House, it shall then be lawful to summon such members of it as may be on the roll of the three hundred jurors. If on the aforesaid question there be any matter requiring the assent of the people assembled, whether in their centuries or their tribes, be it hereby resolved that Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, the consuls for the present year, with the praetors and the tribunes of the people, or such of their number as may be agreed upon, shall propose such question to the people assembled in their centuries or their tribes: the which if they shall fail to carry, their successors in the above

¹ Mr. Watson says (Appendix vi. p. 288): 'Consular provinces in this passage must mean those which under the "*Lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*" would be governed by "*consulares*." For its usual meaning—those to be assigned to the next consuls—is excluded by the enactment of that law which interposed an interval of five years between the consulship and the government of a consular province.'

offices shall propose the same to the people assembled in their centuries or their tribes.

Against this decree no protest was recorded.

Minutes of resolutions of the Senate, meeting in the temple of Θ Apollo, this 30th day of September.

We the undersigned were present at the drawing up of this decree.

Name.	Father's Name.	Tribe.
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus	Gnaeus.	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio .	Quintus.	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis	Lucius.	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius	Titus.	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus	Gaius.	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio	Gaius.	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito	Lucius.	Aniensis.
Marcus Eppius	Marcus.	Teretina.

Whereas the consul Marcus Marcellus has brought before this House the question concerning the allotment of provinces, be it resolved :

(1) That in the opinion of this House it will be highly inexpedient that any of the magistrates who possess the right of veto or adjournment should interpose any delay whereby this House may be prevented from discussing that which affects the welfare of the Roman state and people, and legislating thereon ; whosoever therefore shall so veto or adjourn the question will in the opinion of this House have made himself a public enemy. If any magistrate shall veto this resolution, be it hereby resolved that a formal proposal shall be drawn up and referred to the decision of the Senate and people.

We the undersigned record our veto on the above resolution :—

Gaius Caelius	} Tribunes of the people.
Lucius Vinicius	
Publius Cornelius	
Gaius Vibius Pansa	

(2) Resolved concerning the soldiers in the army of Caesar, that 7 those who have completed their time of service, or can advance any

other plea, which plea would enable them to a discharge, shall have their case brought before this House for consideration and investigation of the pleas. If any magistrate veto this resolution, it shall be formally drawn up, and the proposal referred to the decision of the Senate and people.

We the undersigned record our veto on the above resolution :—

Gaius Caelius	} Tribunes of the people.
Gaius Pansa	

- 8 (3) Resolved by this House with regard to the province of Cilicia, and the eight other provinces now under the government of such persons as have held the office of praetor: that such former praetors as have not yet held a provincial Government with full military powers, but have a claim to be appointed by decree of this House to a provisional Government with full military power, shall be appointed to these provinces by lot. If out of the number of those who have a claim to be appointed to a province by decree of this House there be not enough to fill the vacancies in the provinces, the appointment to those provinces shall be filled up by lot in the order of seniority of election of the praetors for each year out of the number of those who have never been appointed to a province. If these fail to make up the required number, then in succession from the praetors of each year according to seniority of election those who have held that office and have not yet been appointed to a province shall be admitted to the allotment, until the required number of allotments to these provinces be completed. If any magistrate veto this resolution, it shall be drawn up as a formal proposal.

We the undersigned enter our veto on the above resolution :—

Gaius Caelius	} Tribunes of the people.
Gaius Pansa	

- 9 Besides these, there was some commenting on the indications let fall by Pompeius, which were the principal confirmation of the general impression :—how he said that before the 1st of March it would be out of order for him to interfere with Caesar's command of his province, but that after that time he should have no hesitation. On the question being raised,

'what if any one should then interpose a veto?' he replied that it was a matter of indifference whether it should prove that Caesar openly refused to obey the Senate or suborned a magistrate to obstruct its decrees. 'What if,' suggested somebody, 'he should wish to be consul and yet to keep his army?' 'What if,' he answered—wasn't it kindly put?—'my little boy should want to give me the rod?' By such expressions Pompeius brought about a general impression that there was some hitch between him and Caesar; so, as far as I can see now, Caesar intends to consent to one of these two alternatives: either to remain where he is, and not have his name entered for this year, or submit to be recalled if he can first make his election safe. Curio is preparing to resist 10 him with all his might². What he will be able to do, I don't know: of this I am sure, that a man of honest views, though he may have produced no visible effect, cannot altogether fail. Curio treats me with great generosity, and indeed his liberality has caused me some trouble, for if he had not given me the wild animals which were sent him from Africa for the show, we might have done without them. As it is, since I must exhibit them, I hope you will be sure to see, as I have often asked you before, that I have a stock of wild beasts sent out from you; and I recommend to your notice too the bill on Sittius. I have sent my freedman Philo and a Greek, Diogenes, to your province, and have entrusted them with papers and letters for you. Will you kindly see after them and the business on which I have sent them, for it affects me very nearly, as I have pointed out in the letter which they will deliver you?

XXXV. (AD FAM. VIII. 6.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT LAODICEA.

January, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

Curio, 'the most eminent among the many brilliant profligates of this epoch' (Mommsen. Compare Introd. to Letter xxx), had been carefully playing the

² Compare the next letter.

independent republican, waiting for the price to be offered by Pompeius or Caesar. Caesar, who had previously bribed the consul Paulus, now accepted Curio's terms, who used his opportunity skilfully. He proposed that all generals holding extraordinary commands should lay them down simultaneously; and his motion was carried by 370 to 22. Caesar at once announced his willingness to comply if Pompeius would do so also, knowing that the latter without his command would be helpless; thus again securing the advantage of apparent submission to the Senate. When moreover it was decided by the Senate to withdraw a legion from each general for the Parthian war, Caesar not only complied, but surrendered also at the demand of Pompeius a legion which had been lent him by his rival, but had practically become one of his own; a concession not perhaps so dangerous as it was thought, considering the nearness of the Civil War, since Caesar was assured of the soldiers' devotion to himself.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 352-355; Merivale, ii. 110-113; Abeken, pp. 263-267; Forsyth, pp. 343-4.

- 1 Of course you must have had the news that Appius has been impeached by Dolabella, but there was far less popular feeling against him than I had expected. In fact Appius has made by no means a bad move, for as soon as Dolabella had lodged the charge he returned within the walls and withdrew his application for a triumph, by which proceeding he has taken the edge off our sarcasms, and shown himself more ready than his accuser had looked for. His hopes depend now mainly on you. I am sure at heart you do not hate him, and it is in your power now to lay him under any obligation you please. If you had never been on bad terms with him you would have had the whole question more open; but as things are now, if you strictly measure his claims by the ideal standard of fitness, you must mind lest people think that your reconciliation was not really frank and sincere. Besides, it will be quite safe for you to bestow any favour you may find yourself inclined for in this quarter, because nobody will then say it was only family ties or intimacy that prevented you from showing your regard. That reminds me that between the first application to prosecute and the posting of the name in court Dolabella's wife has left him. I have not forgotten your instructions to me when you left¹, and you, I suppose, have not lost sight of

¹ About finding another husband for Tullia. Compare Introduction to Letter xxiii.

what I wrote to you. This not being the time now for saying more, I can only give you one piece of advice; should you not feel disinclined to the idea, still do not let him see anything of your willingness; wait to see how he comes out of this affair. In fact it would do you a good deal of harm if it once got about; and moreover if he has any hint of it before the time, it will be made more public than either prudence or a regard for appearances would allow: he will be quite unable to conceal a circumstance happening so opportunely for his hopes, and likely to be so much more generally noticed through its helping him to effect his object; particularly as he is just the man who, if he knew that it would be ruin to him to talk about the matter, would almost certainly be unable to restrain himself. They say that Pompeius is working hard for Appius, so much ³ so that it is even supposed he will send one or other of his sons to you. It is our way here to acquit everybody, and, by Jove, everything base and villainous is perfectly screened. As to our consuls, they set a fine example of energy: up to the present time they have not been able to carry through one single measure in the Senate, except to fix the date of the Latin festival! ² Under our friend Curio the tribuneship is a very chilly affair. In fact, I cannot describe how dull ⁴ everything is here: if it were not for my quarrelling with the small shopkeepers and the water-companies a lethargic stillness would be all over the country³. If you find that the Parthians hardly keep you warm, we here are quite numb with the frost. Still, however he managed it without the help of the Parthians, Bibulus lost a bit of a cohort or two on Mount Amanus—such was the report.

P.S. I told you above that Curio was freezing, but he finds ⁵ it warm enough just at present, everybody being so hotly engaged in pulling him to pieces. For just because he failed to

² Letter xxiv. § 2, note.

³ Wieland says, 'it was the deep calm before the outbreak of a terrible tempest;' and Mr. Watson adds that 'a modern reader may remember the early summer of 1870.'

get an intercalary month, without the slightest ado he has stepped over to the popular side, and begun to harangue in favour of Caesar; and he has been talking about a Commission of Roads, not unlike the agrarian law of Rullus, and a distribution of food to be measured out by the aediles to the people. This had not occurred when I wrote the first part of this letter.

An you love me, if you mean to do anything for Appius to help him, let me have the credit of it with him. As to Dolabella, my advice is, do not compromise yourself: this line of action is the best, not only for the object to which I allude, but for your position, and reputation for integrity. It will be a shame if you do not let me have some Ionian panthers.

XXXVI. (AD ATT. V. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Feb. 13, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

This letter, like the 15th (see Introduction to that one), illustrates the pressure put upon a Roman Governor to make or wrest the law in the interest of his private friends. The conduct of the immaculate Marcus Brutus, who was the real lender of the usurious loan to the town-council of Salamis, and who by his agent *starved five of them to death* to obtain the payment of his illegal bond, sets Cicero's by comparison in a highly favourable light; though the latter, with his usual weakness, only refused to do a gross injustice to the poor people of Salamis, and left the question open for his presumably unscrupulous successor.

Merivale, i. 333; Abeken, pp. 241-245; Forsyth, 325-328. On the threatening attitude of the Parthians, see Mommsen, iv. 2. 338-9.

- 1 While exceedingly glad that you have got safe to Epirus, and had, as you tell me it was, an agreeable journey, I am a little vexed that you should not be in Rome at such an intensely critical time for me; though indeed I can console myself by thinking that you are not likely to have a cheerful winter there, or enjoy stopping where you are.
- 2 That first letter, the meaning of which you want me to explain, from Gaius Cassius (he is the brother of your friend Quintus Cassius), is a more modest one to write than the one he

sent afterwards, where he announces that he has brought the Parthian war to a conclusion! It is true they had retreated from Antioch before Bibulus came up, but it was no very brilliant *journée* for us, whereas at the present moment they are wintering in Cyrrhestica¹, and a very serious war is impending. Not only is the son of the Parthian king Orodes inside our territory, but Deiotarus, whose son is betrothed to the daughter of Artavasdes (and the information might come from him), has no doubt whatever that the king himself, when summer comes, will at once cross the Euphrates with all his forces. And on the very same day—the 7th of October—that Cassius's triumphant letter was read in the Senate, came mine announcing the rising. Our friend Axius says mine was regarded as most important, while he tells me that nobody believed the other. Bibulus's had not yet arrived; and his, I know for certain, was full of anxiety. All this makes me fear lest, Pompeius not being allowed to leave Rome at all from the dread of an outbreak, and the Senate refusing to grant any special privileges to Caesar, members should think that till this knot can be untied I ought not to return home before a successor has been appointed; or that while things are in such a disturbed state, it is not right to leave such important provinces each to the charge of a mere deputy. Thus I dread lest there should be some extension of my time, which nobody could even stop with his veto, and all the more because you are away, who would be sure to meet many of my difficulties with your good advice, and influence and sympathy. [Still] you will say I am simply creating these anxieties for myself. I cannot help it, and I hope it may prove to be so; but I am nervous about everything. However, that was a very pretty *finale* to the letter you sent me from Buthrotum while you were still sea-sick: that, as far as you could see, there would be nothing, you hoped, to prevent my return home. I should have liked the 'as far as you could see' better without the

¹ The district between Antioch and the Euphrates.

4 hoping; that was not wanted at all. I got too at Iconium, and with hardly any delay, thanks to the messengers of the tax-contractors, one written immediately after the triumph of Lentulus. You repeat in it your *aigre-doux* mixture, that I shall have no delay, but add immediately that if things go wrong you will come out to me. Your hesitation tortures me: at the same time this will show you which letters they are that I have received. For I never got the one which you yourself tell me you gave to Hermon, the freedman of Canuleius the centurion. You had frequently mentioned that you entrusted one to the slaves of Laenius: this, dated September 21, was delivered to me at last at Laodicea by Laenius in person, after my arrival there, on the 11th of February. I will show Laenius, not only by promises for the moment, but by substantial proofs as long as
5 I stay, how I value a recommendation from you. This letter only contained what I had heard before, with one exception that was news, I mean about those panthers from Cibyra. You are a dear good fellow for telling Marcus Octavius it was not likely: only do for the future say no positively to whatever you are not positively certain about. For my good resolutions were pretty firm of themselves, but having them fired, as upon my honour they were, by your approval, I have now outstripped everybody (you will find this is true), not merely in being considerate, but in justice, courtesy, and clemency. You will be greatly mistaken if you think that anything in the world ever caused more surprise than that during my government of this province there has not been a halfpenny of expense, either for public objects, or for any individual of my suite, except Lucius Tullius, my second in command. He, though scrupulous in other respects, has [nevertheless] overstepped Caesar's act, though never more than once in a day, and not as others used to do in every town, [and excepting him, no one on any single occasion has taken anything]; and so has compelled me to make him an exception, when I assert there has not been a halfpenny of expense; but leaving him out,

no one has taken anything. For the discredit of him I am indebted to our friend Quintus Titinius.

After the summer campaign I gave the command of the 6 winter quarters and of Cilicia to my brother Quintus. I have sent Quintus Volusius, the son-in-law of your friend Tiberius, a safe man and wonderfully little inclined to be grasping, to stay in Cyprus just for a day or two, lest the few Roman citizens who have business there should say the administration of justice was denied them, we not being allowed to summon the Cypriots out of the island. I myself 7 started from Tarsus for Asia on the 5th of January, and I declare I cannot tell you what enthusiasm I evoked from the states of Cilicia, and, above all, from the good people of Tarsus; while, after I had crossed the Taurus, there was enormous expectation among my districts in Asia, which for the six months of my government had never received a requisition from me, never seen a man billeted on them. Now before my time that part of every year was spent in the following profitable way: the richer states used to be paying large sums not to have soldiers quartered on them for the winter; the Cypriots indeed as much as £10,000, whereas from that island—I am speaking with no exaggeration, but quite *au pied de la lettre*—not one single penny was exacted under my government. For these benefits, which seem to them astounding, I do not allow them to vote me any honours, except as a mere compliment: statues, temples, and *arcs de triomphe*² I absolutely forbid, nor in any other way do the towns groan under the infliction of me—though perhaps you do, for trumpeting all this about myself. Let it pass, as you love me: you yourself wanted me to do so. The consequence was that I made such a progress 8 through Asia, that even though there was a famine at the time, which is a most distressing sight, in my Asiatic district, owing to the entire failure of the crops, it has been a thing to be proud of. Wherever I went, I have

² Literally, statues representing the person honoured in a four-horse chariot.

never had to employ force, or legal process, or threats, but simply by my influence and recommendation I have induced the people, whether Greeks or Roman citizens, who had stowed away corn, to promise a large supply to their townsmen.

9 I have appointed the 13th of February (the day on which I am writing this letter) for holding a court at Laodicea for Cibyra and Apamea; from the 15th of March onwards one, which will be here also, for Synnas, Pamphylia (so I shall be able then to look out for a *cor de chasse* for Phemius), Lycaonia, and Isauria; after the 15th of May, I am off for Cilicia to spend June there, in peace, let us hope, as far as the Parthians are concerned. July, if all go well, we are to spend in passing through the province on our way back: for I entered my Government [at Laodicea] on the 31st of July, while Sulpicius and Marcellus were still consuls, and it will be the right thing for me to leave it on the 30th of July. I will first try hard to get my brother Quintus's consent to allowing himself to be left in charge, which will be as much against his will as mine, but it cannot now be decently avoided, especially since, even as it is, I cannot detain my excellent officer Pomptinus; the good man has such an attraction to Rome in Postumius—not to say possibly in Postumia. But enough of my plans; I must now tell you about Brutus.

10 Your friend Brutus is acquainted with certain individuals, by name Marcus Scaptius and Publius Matinius, to whom the people of Salamis in Cyprus owe money, and whom he strongly recommended to my good offices. I know nothing of Matinius, but Scaptius came out to me to the camp. For Brutus's sake, I promised that I would enforce payment on the Salaminians, for which he thanked me. He asked for some post of command, but I said that I never appointed anybody engaged in money transactions, and that I had explained the same to you before: so too when Pompeius applied to me he had approved of my reasons, not to mention Torquatus when he asked for your friend Laenius, as well as many others. If he wanted the post only for the sake of his

bond I would take care he recovered it. He thanked me, and took his leave. Now my predecessor Appius had already given a few troops of horse to this Scaptius in order to coerce the Salaminians, and had also appointed him to a command, which he used to put the screw on the people. I ordered that those troops should leave Cyprus; Scaptius was greatly aggrieved. Well, to make the story short, when the Sala- 11 minians came to apply to me at Tarsus, and with them Scaptius, I ordered them to pay the money, in fulfilment of my pledge to him. This produced much about the bond itself and the violent proceedings of Scaptius, but I refused to listen. I advised them, even implored them, in return for the favour I had shown their city, to settle the claim, telling them finally that I must enforce it. The poor people, so far from refusing, even said they were only paying away what was mine, for as I had not exacted what they had always before had to give to the Governor, they were only giving up what was practically mine, and in fact the debt to Scaptius was considerably less than what their Governor usually exacted. I commended the deputation for this. Very good, said Scaptius, but let us see what the sum amounts to. Now when I published the usual edict, I had announced that I should maintain the rate of interest at 12 per cent., the interest on default to be added to the principal only at the end of each year; but Scaptius by the terms of his bond now proceeded to demand 48 per cent. What do you mean? say I. How can I possibly act against my own edict? Hereupon he produces a decree of the Senate, dated from the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus, that the Governor of Cilicia for the time being should be required to recognise this bond as valid. I was horrified at first; in fact, it was absolute ruin for the community. On examination I find *two* decrees of the 12 Senate dated from that year about the very bond in question. For when the Salaminians wanted to borrow money at Rome they failed, because it was forbidden under Gabinus's act. Hereupon some friends of Brutus, relying on his powerful

protection, were willing to lend the money at four times the usual rate, provided they could obtain security for payment by a special decree. Through Brutus's influence a decree is then passed exempting both the Salaminians and their creditors from the penalties of the law, and the money was duly handed over. Some time afterwards it occurred to these money-lenders that the decree was of no use to them, because Gabinus's act excluded the bond from being good in law at all. Then a decree was passed that the bond should be held valid, but only for the usual rate of interest allowed in other cases. After I had explained this to be the meaning of the decree, Scaptius took me aside to say that he had nothing to urge against my decision, only that the people fancied they owed him 200 talents, and he would be willing to compromise for this sum, as they really owed him a trifle less; would I then induce them to pay the 200 in full? Very well, say I, and calling them to me, without letting Scaptius be present, I put the question: 'How much do you really owe?' One hundred and six talents, say they. I report to Scaptius, and the fellow begins to bluster. 'All we want, then,' say I, 'is for you to compare accounts.' Down they sit, and begin adding up the amount, which tallies to a penny. The deputation is quite prepared to pay the money down, and urges him to take it, but Scaptius, taking me aside again, begs me to leave the matter as it stands. I yielded to the fellow, cool as his proposal was, and refused the Greeks when they requested leave to deposit the money in some temple³. All the people there were inclined to cry out that Scaptius was impudent to the last degree for not being satisfied with 12 per cent., with interest on default, and some that he was incredibly foolish. To me however it seems he was more impudent than foolish, for he had the choice between resting content with 12 per cent., recoverable at law, or making a doubtful debt in the hope of extorting 48 per

³ This was a clear injustice, because paying into a temple under a judicial decree was like paying money into court, and interest would at once have ceased to accrue.

cent. Here you have the statement of my case, and if Brutus 13 does not accept my explanation, I do not know why I should regard him as a friend. His uncle Cato will undoubtedly accept it, especially since quite lately the Senate has passed a decree, which, I suppose, was since you left, for the recovery of debts, making 12 per cent., simple interest, the legal rate. What a reduction this makes I feel certain you have already reckoned, knowing how you have your figures at your fingers' ends. And as to this subject, *en passant*, Lucius Lucceius (he is a son of Marcus Lucceius) writes to me complaining that there is great danger, for which the Senate and all these decrees are responsible, of our coming to a general repudiation; and dwells on the mischief Julius did when he allowed payment to be deferred, were it but for one little day. Never was the State worse served. But to return to the point. Put my case against Brutus carefully, if you can call it a case where nothing can fairly be said on the other side at all, especially as I have left this matter of his entirely open to my successor.

Everything else I have to say is about home matters. As 14 to the *affaire de famille*, I should be quite willing, like you, to give my consent to Postumia's son⁴, since Pontidia is only trifling with us; but how I wish you were there! You must not expect to hear from my brother Quintus for the next few months, because the snow makes the Taurus impassable before June. I am perpetually writing, as you ask me, to strengthen Thermus's hands. King Deiotarus declares that Publius Valerius has no money, but is, so he tells me, dependent upon him. As soon as you have heard whether they have inserted an intercalary month or not at Rome, I wish you would let me know on what day the Mysteries will be. I am perhaps a shade less eager in looking for your letters than if you were at Rome, but still I do look for them.

⁴ *i.e.*, to Servius Sulpicius the younger as a husband for Tullia. Compare Letter xxxv. § 2, where Caelius proposes Dolabella, whom she eventually married.

XXXVII. (AD FAM. II. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS.

(An answer to Letter XXXV.)

Early in May, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

- 1 I find your letters only too infrequent (perhaps because they fail to reach me) but very welcome. The very last I had from you, how sound was its advice; no less friendly than judicious! Though indeed I had already come to the conclusion that I ought to act as you recommended, still my judgment always feels itself much stronger when it coincides with that of a faithful and far-seeing friend.
- 2 For Appius, as I have often mentioned to you, I personally entertain a strong affection, which I felt that he reciprocated immediately upon our reconciliation; for during his consulship he was always most deferential to me, and a congenial friend, and one who enjoys working at the very same studies as I do myself. You, however, will bear me witness that he has not wanted for proofs of my regard, and I suppose you have Phania now, like the '*deus ex machina*' of a comedy, to back your testimony¹. Indeed, I give you my word I esteemed him even higher than I should otherwise have done because I saw his regard for you. Then you know that I am heart and soul for Pompeius, and can see my affection for Brutus. Can there be any reason why it should not be one of my most ardent wishes to attach myself to a man who has every advantage that the prime of life, wealth, position and

¹ This is not an exact equivalent, since the '*deus ex machina*' is rather appropriate to tragedy than comedy, though not exclusively, as the *Amphitruo* of Plautus shows. But it fairly represents the general idea, if, as is supposed, the 'comic witness' means the omniscient person who appears in time to clear up all difficulties and make things end happily. Compare *King Lear*, i. 2. 118: 'And pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy.' Metzger less satisfactorily explains it of a witness who knows his cue. The use of Greek words probably points to their being a quotation, or a recognised phrase.

talent, children and relatives, connexions and friends can give him; above all, a colleague of my own, and one who, in devoting his learning to the praises of our foundation, has been very complimentary to myself. I mention all this the more particularly because your letters seemed to hint at a shadow of doubt what my feeling was towards him. Some report I suppose you have heard: I assure you it is false if you have heard anything. My principles and practice have a certain amount of difference in character from his mode of administering a province²: this perhaps had led certain people to suspect that my divergence from him arose from a spirit of opposition, and not a mere difference of opinion, whereas I have never done nor have I said a single thing with a wish to prejudice his reputation. After this affair however, and the rash action of our good friend Dolabella, I offer myself as his advocate to stave off the threatened danger.

That same letter of yours talked of the lethargy of the ³ country. Of course I was pleased at this, and smiled with a sense of tranquillity to think that our friend had come to freezing-point. The paragraph you added at the end was indeed a stab from the point of your pen. What? Curio now become a supporter of Caesar? Who could ever have expected this but myself? for, upon my life, I really did expect it. Good heavens! how I miss our laughing together over it. My intention is, now I have finished my circuit, improved the finances of the towns, secured the tax-renters even their arrears from the previous contract without a single murmur from the allies, and given general satisfaction to individuals high and low, to start for Cilicia on the 7th of May, and after I have just been to the summer quarters and put army matters in order, to avail myself of the decree of the Senate for returning home. I very much want to see you

² Somewhat. In Letter xxxii. we hear that Appian's 'mode of administering' a province was 'too monstrous for a human being, and like some terrible wild beast!'

as an aedile: indeed I am filled with indescribable longing at the thought of Rome and all my friends, and of none more than yourself.

XXXVIII. (AD ATT. VI. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

May, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

- 1 Your freedman Philogenes having made his way to Laodicea to pay his respects to me, and mentioned that he was just about to sail on his return to you, I send this letter by him in answer to the one I received from Brutus's courier. And I will answer your last page first, which gave me much annoyance, that Cincius should have written so to you about his conversation with Statius; and the most annoying part of it all is that Statius should say I agreed in approving the course proposed¹. Approve indeed! but no more of this. I need only say that my wish is to see the ties of perfect intimacy with you as numerous as possible, though those of affection which we already have could not be closer than they are; so utterly do I repudiate the idea of wishing to undo in the
2 smallest degree anything that now holds us together. I have often however found from experience that he is just the man who would express himself too bitterly about such disputes; often indeed I have had to pacify his rage: this I suppose you know: why, in this very excursion (not to call it a campaign) I have frequently seen him furious with passion, and no less frequently mollified again. What he may have written to Statius, I cannot tell: whatever he intended to do in a matter of this kind, he had no business in any case to write to a freedman about it². Now it shall be my earnest endeavour to prevent any step being taken that our wishes or his duty would forbid. Nor

¹ This refers to Quintus Cicero's intention of divorcing Pomponia. See Letter xxxi. note 4. The divorce did not take place till five years after this.

² See Introduction to Letter xi.

is it enough in a thing of this kind for each to go bail for his own part only. In fact the principal share in this work belongs to the lad (I ought to be calling him now a young man) Quintus Cicero, and indeed I am always impressing this upon him. And it appears to me that he loves his mother, as he ought to do, very strongly, and yourself to an amazing extent. But the lad's disposition is a generous one enough, only it is a strange mixture, and I have enough to do to keep him straight.

Now as my first page has answered your last, it is time ³ to turn back to your first. That the cities of Peloponnesus are all on the sea-coast I took on trust from the maps of Dicaearchus³, no worthless authority, but one whom even your judgment approves. When he is making Chaeron describe the cave of Trophonius he finds this fault with the Greeks on various grounds—that they had kept so much to the sea-coast, and makes not a single exception in Peloponnesus. While I could not but accept his authority—for he was *historien, s'il en fut*, and had lived in Peloponnesus—I was certainly startled, and only half believing it I consulted Dionysius. He too was at first taken aback, but afterwards, having as good an opinion of your friend Dicaearchus as you can have of Gaius Vestorius, or I of Marcus Cluvius⁴, thought we might without hesitation accept his statements. Lepreon, which is a place on the coast, he fancied might belong to Arcadia, while Tenea, Aliphera, and Tritia seemed to be towns *de nouvelle date*, in proof of which he appealed to Book II of the Iliad, where there is no mention of those places. Accordingly I transferred the passage in question bodily from Dicaearchus. As to the 'Phliasii,' I know already

³ Dicaearchus—the Peripatetic philosopher of Letter x. § 3—published a series of maps of the whole known world with descriptive accounts. In one of them Chaeron, an interlocutor, apparently describes the celebrated cave and oracle of Trophonius, near Lebadeia in Boeotia.

⁴ Vestorius and Cluvius were both bankers of Puteoli, the old name of which was Dicaearchia. Cicero means therefore, 'I thought Dicaearchus was as much to be trusted in geography as the most respectable of Dicaearchians in money.'

that that is what they are called; so will you see that your copy has it; mine indeed is already so. But it was the *esprit de système* in the first instance that led me astray: Phlius is like Opus, Sipus; which make Opuntii, Sipuntii. But this I have at once corrected:

- 4 I see you are pleased at my moderation and forbearance; how much more then would you be if you were here! And during this session, which I have been holding at Laodicea from the 13th of February till the 1st of May, for all the departments except Cilicia Proper, I have done some wonderful work, seeing the numbers of cities that have been entirely freed from debt, and many more that have been greatly relieved. All have revived at once on recovering their *affranchissement*, with the use of their own laws and courts. There were two kinds of opportunities I gave them for diminishing or getting rid of their debts. The first was, that under my government they had no expense at all, and when I say none, I am speaking absolutely *à la lettre*: no expense whatever, I repeat, not a single farthing. Now it is scarcely credible how largely even by this alone the different cities have been enabled to get their heads above
5 water. But there is another reason too. The peculations of the Greeks themselves, committed, that is, by their own magistrates, were enormous. I myself examined those who for the last ten years had held office: they made no secret of it. Consequently, without being publicly disgraced at all, they have taken the load on their own shoulders, and repaid the money themselves to the communities⁵; the communities in their turn, without a word of complaint, have handed over to the tax-gatherers (to whom they had paid nothing since the last census) even the arrears of the previous period, and consequently among tax-gatherers now I am much looked up to.

⁵ 'Suis humeris' certainly does not mean 'of their own accord' (Boot), a rendering for which there is no authority, but 'out of their own resources,' 'without borrowing.' This is the meaning also in the passages (Pro Flacco, 37. 94; Pro Milone, 9. 25) which Boot quotes as parallels for his view.

A grateful lot they are! say you. Yes, we know them of old. Well, they have found my administration in other respects too, without being incompetent, mild and courteous beyond all precedent: access to me has been given not at all in the style of our governments: no applying to a chamberlain; I have always been about the house before daybreak, just as in the old days when I was a candidate. All this is popular and thought a great deal of, and has not as yet proved irksome, thanks to my being an old campaigner.

On the 7th of May I shall go I think to Cilicia, and after 6 spending June there (Heaven send it may be without an outbreak! but we are threatened with a great war by the Parthians) give up July to the journey back, for my year of work expires on the 30th of July, and I am in great hopes that I shall not have my time extended at all. I have the Gazettes up to the 7th of March, by which I find that, thanks to the firm attitude⁶ of our friend Curio, the last thing in the world likely to be discussed is the provinces; therefore I shall see you, I hope, before long.

I come now to your—or, since you prefer it, our—friend 7 Brutus⁷. For myself I can say I have done everything that it was possible to effect in my province, or even to attempt in the king's country. Accordingly I have been pressing his majesty in every way, and continue to do so daily; by letter, of course, for I only had him here for three or four days during a disturbance which I helped him out of. But I have never ceased, either in person while he was here, or in perpetual letters afterwards, to ask him to grant this as a favour to me, and to urge it as being advisable for himself. I have done a good deal, but how much I do not exactly know, being at such a long distance. As to the people of Salamis, being able to use force with them, I have brought them to express their willingness to pay the whole debt to Scaptius, provided only that the 12 per cent. were reckoned from the last contract, and not at compound interest, but beginning afresh each

⁶ Compare Letter xxxv. § 5.

⁷ Letter xxxvi. §§ 10-13.

year. There was the money ready to be counted out : Scaptius would have nothing to do with it. My good friend, how can you tell me that Brutus really wants to put up with *some* deduction? Why his bond was for 48 per cent. That was totally impossible, and if it were possible I could not allow it. They tell me that Scaptius is decidedly repenting, for as to his argument that a decree of the Senate gives him the right to recover under his bond, the reason why that was passed was that the people of Salamis had borrowed money in violation of Aulus Gabinius's act, which is an act to forbid the legal right to recover money so borrowed; therefore the Senate passed a resolution that that particular bond should
8 be held good in law for recovery. As things are then, the bond possesses exactly the same validity as every other one, nothing whatever that is exceptional. I think I shall get Brutus to admit that I have only acted with propriety in all this; but about you I am not sure: Cato undoubtedly will. But now I appeal again to yourself. Seriously, Atticus, can you, who have always praised my integrity and fine sense of right, 'dare with those very lips,' as Ennius has it, to urge me to give Scaptius a troop of horse to exact the money? Nay, if you, who tell me you are often tormented at not being with me, were here now, would you allow me to do this, if I wanted it? Not more than fifty, indeed! why Spartacus at first had not so many as that. How much harm, think you, would those scoundrels not have done in so helpless an island:—would have done? what did they not actually do before I came here? They kept the councillors of Salamis shut up in their town-hall so many days that some actually died of starvation; for Scaptius had a command given him by Appius, and Appius himself furnished him with some troops. Is this then what you would ask me; you, whose face I declare always rises before my eyes whenever I think about honour or any claim of duty—can it be you, I say, asking me to appoint Scaptius to a command? I had already formed a resolution independently not to appoint any money-

lender, and Brutus had approved of it. He to have a troop of horse? why more than foot? Scaptius seems to be turning out quite a spendthrift! The principal people of Salamis wish it, no doubt. Oh, I know all about that: why, they came as far as Ephesus to meet me, and with tears in their eyes reported the iniquities of the cavalry, and their own misery: and in consequence of this I at once issued a despatch ordering that all cavalry should leave Cyprus before a certain date, for which, among many reasons, the people of Salamis have passed resolutions lauding me to the skies. But what need can there be now of cavalry, when the people of Salamis are all for paying? Unless indeed this is what we want to use our swords to enforce—that they should pay interest at four times the 12 per cent. And then, think you I shall ever again venture to read or to lay a finger on those books which you are everywhere praising, if I shall have been guilty of such an act⁸? Nay, my dearest Atticus, let me tell you you have shown too much affection for Brutus in your pleading, and, I fear, too little for me. I may add that I have written to Brutus to say what you have been writing to me.

Now for what else there is to be said. I am doing all I 10 can here for Appius⁹, though only as far as honour will allow, but still unquestionably with good-will; for indeed I do not dislike him, and am really attached to Brutus; while Pompeius, my regard for whom increases with every day of my life, is pressing his case upon me with amazing anxiety. You have heard that Gaius Caelius is coming here as our quaestor. I do not understand what it all means, but I do not like that business about Pammenes. For myself I hope to be at Athens in September. Of course I should like to know the times of your movements. About Sempronius Rufus's *naïveté* you told me in your letter from Coreyra.

⁸ Probably Cicero's treatise on Government (*De Republica*).

⁹ Compare Letters xxxv. § 1; xxxvii. § 2. What Appius wanted Cicero to do was no doubt to suppress or cajole inconvenient witnesses.

Well, I can only say I envy Vestorius his power¹⁰. I should like still to go on chattering, but it is now broad daylight; the crowd is beginning to press; Philogenes is in haste to be off. So I will only add my good wishes: give them from me to Pilia and my little Caecilia when you write, and accept kind remembrances from my son Marcus.

XXXIX. (AD FAM. XV. 5.)

FROM MARCUS CATO AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

June (?), 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

After their great defeat of Crassus (Letter xxxi, Introduction and § 3) the Parthians maintained a threatening attitude, and it was feared they would invade Cilicia; but they were repulsed by Cassius, who had been quaestor to Crassus, at Antioch, and the ex-consul Bibulus arrived in Syria with reinforcements. Cicero then employed the forces he possessed as a defence against the Parthians in attacking the savage hordes of Mount Amanus, which he did with great success, his brother Quintus, who was an able and experienced officer, being on his staff. This inspired him with hopes that the Senate would recognise this exploit by a public thanksgiving in his honour, and a triumph on his return. But fearing the opposition of Cato, he wrote him a long letter (Ad Fam. xv. 4) to ask for his support, to which the present one is an answer. Cato voted against the motion for a public thanksgiving, but signed the decree when it was passed. Cicero here thanks Cato for his complimentary expressions, but calls him 'discreditably spiteful' in a letter to Atticus (Ad Att. vii. 2. 7), and indeed we can scarcely be surprised if Cato's arguments did not convince him.

Forsyth, pp. 322-324; Abeken, 228-235.

- 1 It is with sincere pleasure, as patriotism and friendship would alike dictate, that I see the spirit, integrity, and vigilance which we knew so well in the great crisis of your civil administration at home, now addressing themselves in unimpaired vigour to the conduct of our arms abroad. I have therefore only acted in accordance with my convictions in

¹⁰ Compare Letter xxxiv. § 1. The allusion is somewhat obscure, but it seems that Rufus did not call on Cicero when he passed through Puteoli, and Cicero sarcastically attributes this to his being afraid of meeting the banker Vestorius (*supra*, § 3) in the streets. We have no means of explaining fully the allusion to Pammenes; but from Ad Att. v. 20. 10 it appears to refer to some purchase of a house.

endeavouring to express, both in my speeches and in the vote I proposed, my sense of the integrity and judgment with which you have protected a province, saved the person and crown of King Ariobarzanes, and brought back the feeling of our allies to a loyal enthusiasm for our rule. If you prefer 2 that we should give thanks to the Almighty rather than acknowledge our gratitude to yourself for a success in which the State is in nowise indebted to chance, but to your consummate ability and self-control, I am glad that a public thanksgiving has been voted. But if you regard a thanksgiving as merely the preliminary part of a triumph, and are glad for that reason that Fortune rather than yourself should have the credit, in the first place a triumph does not necessarily follow on a public thanksgiving, and then it is far more honourable that the Senate should record its opinion that the mild rule and integrity of a governor has saved his province and its allegiance than the amount of his forces or the favour of Providence, and this was the sentiment I wished to express. And, contrary to my usual practice, I have written to you 3 somewhat at length for this reason, that you might see (as I earnestly hope you will) how eager I am to convince you that while I supported the course which appeared to me most becoming for your reputation, I yet am glad we adopted the one you yourself prefer. I hope you may live long to grant me your friendship, and to continue in the path you have chosen of strict watchfulness for the interests of our allies and the Republic.

XL. (*AD FAM. XV. 6.*)

FROM CICERO IN CILICIA TO MARCUS CATO AT ROME.

(Answer to the preceding Letter.)

August, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

'Father, from thee of praise I well may boast;
Praise sweetest comes from him who has it most.'

So says Hector, I believe, in one of Naevius's plays; for it 1 is undoubtedly true that applause is sweet when it proceeds

from those whose own lives have been most applauded. Indeed as for myself, whether I look at the congratulations of your letter, or the testimony of the opinion you expressed in the Senate, I seem to have reached the very summit of my wishes, and it is to me at once the greatest pleasure and the greatest honour that you have been so ready to make a concession to friendship which you could certainly grant with a very clear conscience to truth. And if there were many—not to say none but—Cato in our country, the proudest boast of which is that she has given birth to one, what laurels, what triumphal cars, could I weigh for a moment against your approbation? To my own feelings, as well as to your own most upright and refined judgment, nothing could be more honourable to me than that speech of yours, which I have had fully reported to
2 me by my friends. But the reasons that made me so desirous (I will not say ambitious) I explained to you in my previous letter, and although they have seemed to you to be scarcely sufficient, there is at least this much to be said for them, that if the privilege is not one to be too eagerly desired, at all events, if the Senate should offer it me, it is one on no account to be rejected. Now I hope that that body, in consideration of the work I have done for my country, will think me not unworthy of the privilege, especially as it is by no means an unusual one. Should this prove to be the case, I would only beg of you, in accordance with the very friendly expressions of your letter, that as you were willing to grant me what in your judgment would be most to my honour, you will rejoice with me if I should chance to obtain that which would give me most pleasure. Indeed, I know you have so expressed yourself in acts and feelings, as well as in your kind letter; and I find a proof that the thanksgiving in my honour was not indifferent to you in the fact that you added your signature to the decree; for I am well aware that decrees of this kind are usually signed by those who feel the warmest interest in the person in whose honour they are passed. I shall, I hope, see you very shortly, and heaven grant when

that occurs our country may be in a happier state than my fears forebode!

XLI.¹ (AD FAM. VIII. 14.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

June or July (?), 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

The capture of his Parthian majesty and the storming of Seleuceia itself had not been enough to compensate for missing the sight of our doings here. Your eyes would never have ached again if you had only seen the face of Domitius when he was not elected! The election was important, and it was quite clear that party feeling determined the side which people took: only a very few could be brought to acknowledge the claims of friendship. Consequently Domitius is so furious with me that he scarcely hates any of his most intimate friends as much as he does me; and all the more because he thinks we have done him great wrong in keeping him out of the College of Augurs, and that I am responsible for it. He must be savage now to see everybody's delight at his mortification, and that I have been more active than anybody, with one exception, for Antonius; for even his son Gnaeus has now begun an action against young Gnaeus Saturninus, who is in terribly bad odour from his antecedents. That trial we are now looking forward to, and even with some confidence, after the acquittal of Sextus Peducaeus.

As to political prospects, I have often mentioned to you that I do not see any chance of peace a year hence; and the nearer that struggle, which must infallibly take place, is drawing to us, the more manifest does its danger become. The point at issue in the coming duel of our lords and masters is this: Pompeius has absolutely determined not to

¹ This letter, as Mr. Watson points out, ought to be placed before Letter xxxix, because the Parthian war is spoken of as still continuing, and because Antonius was elected Augur early in the year (Bell. Gall. viii. 50).

allow Caesar to be elected consul on any terms except a previous resignation of his army and his government, while Caesar is convinced that he must inevitably fall if he has once let go his army. He offers however this compromise, that they should both of them resign their armies. So you see their great affection for one another and their much-abused alliance has not even dwindled down into suppressed jealousy, but broken out into open war. Nor can I discover what is the wisest course to take in my own interests: a question which I make no doubt will give much trouble to you also. For while I have both interest and connexions among those who are on one side, on the other too it is the
 3 cause and not the men themselves I dislike. You are not, I feel sure, blind to the fact that where parties are divided within a country we are bound so long as the struggle is carried on with none but constitutional weapons to support the more honourable cause, but when we come to blows and to open war, then the safer one; and to count that cause the better which is the less likely to be dangerous. In the present struggle I see that Pompeius will have the Senate and all judicially-minded people² on his side; that those who have everything to dread and little to hope for will flock to Caesar; and that between the two armies there is no comparison³. To be sure we have plenty of time for balancing the strength of parties and making our decision.
 4 I had all but forgotten my principal reason for writing.

² These words are taken by some (Manutius, Malmoth) to be only a periphrasis for 'iudices.' It is true that Cicero uses 'res iudicant' in this sense (Phil. i. 20), but there he means those who are *at the present time* judges, not *the class* from which they are selected. Would not such use indeed be doubtful Latin? Caelius appears rather to contrast the calm observers who would support traditional authority, with those who would be hurried by fear or cupidity to the side of Caesar. The phrase recurs in Quintus Cicero's letter 'De Petendo Consulatu,' ii. 8.

³ Mr. Watson says 'Caesar's being much the best.' But would Caelius make this strange admission? As a matter of fact the armies now seemed very evenly balanced, and Pompeius boasted that he had only to stamp his foot to cover the soil of Italy with armed men.

Have you heard of the wonderful doings of our censor Appius—how he is rigorously enquiring into our statues and pictures, our amount of land, and our debts? He has persuaded himself that his censorship is a moral soap or toilet-powder. He is wrong, I take it, for while he only wants to wash off the dirt, he is really laying bare his veins and his flesh. In heaven's name, make haste, and come to laugh at what we have to show—Appius making short work with pictures and statues; Drusus sitting to administer Scantinius's act! You must make haste, I assure you.

Our friend Curio is thought to have acted wisely in giving way about the pay of Pompeius's troops. If I must sum up my opinion, as you ask, about what will happen; unless one or other of them consents to go and fight the Parthians, I see a great struggle impending, which can only be settled by the stern arbitrament of the sword, for which each is well inclined and well equipped. If it could only be without danger to yourself, you would find this a great and most attractive drama which Fortune is about to open.

XLII. (AD ATT. VI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT SIDE IN PAMPHYLIA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in August, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

Cicero's year of office expired on the 30th of July, and on the 3rd of August, leaving his quaestor Caelius in charge, he sailed from Side, the principal port of Pamphylia, to Rhodes, and thence to Ephesus, Athens (from which place Letter xliii is dated), and Brundisium, where he was met by Terentia. From Brundisium he went to stay a few days with Pontius Aquila at Trebula, where he wrote Letter xlv, and then to his own villa at Formiae. Cicero never re-entered the walls of Rome until the end of the year 47 B.C.; because entering the gates implied the laying down of a military command, and thereby renouncing the claim to a triumph. This the Senate would probably have granted him at any other time, but now, on the very verge of the greatest of civil wars, no one else had a thought to spare for trifles in that terrible crisis.

In Letter xxxv. § 2 Caelius suggested Dolabella as a husband for Tullia, and Terentia hurried on the match without waiting for the consent of Cicero, who was inclined to favour Tiberius Nero, the father of the emperor.

Merivale, ii. 118-120; Forsyth, pp. 345-352; Abeken, 268-281.

- 1 Here I am in my province doing all I can to support the credit of Appius, when, lo! I find myself all at once his accuser's father-in-law. 'Yes, and may Heaven make it,' say you, 'a happy match!' Amen, say I, as I am quite sure you really wish it to be, but upon my word there is nothing in the world I had less expected to hear of; I had even gone so far as to send some confidential messengers to my womankind about Tiberius Nero¹, who had made proposals to me; but when they got to Rome the betrothal was all over. After all I hope this is better: at any rate, I gather that the ladies are immensely delighted with the young fellow's deference and agreeable manners; so you must not be inclined to *éplucher* him severely in other respects.
- 2 But hey! my good friend, what is this I hear about you and a *distribution de blé* at Athens? Is that right? Still no doubt there was nothing to prevent it in my treatise², for yours was not so much a largess to your fellow-citizens, as a tribute to the hospitality of your entertainers. Do you still say I ought to be thinking about adding a *portique* to the Academy, when Appius has given up his idea about Eleusis? I am sure you will be very sorry about Hortensius. To me it is agonising news; I had set my heart on living in pleasant intimacy with him. I have left Caelius in charge of the province. 'He is a mere boy,' you will say, 'and possibly a fool, and wanting in character and self-restraint.' There I agree: but what else could be done? For it was the letter I had from you long ago where you said you were quite *balancé* as to what I ought to do about leaving the province, which pricked me: because I saw the reason of your '*balance-ment*,' and felt indeed just the same myself. Why give it to a mere boy when there was my brother? That was un-

¹ Mr. Forsyth (p. 331) makes the truly remarkable comment that if Tullia had accepted this proposal 'the world might possibly have been spared one monster,' meaning apparently the emperor!

² The Treatise on Government (*De Republica*), which had been lately published. Compare Letter xxxviii. § 9. The phrase '*distribution de blé*' occurs in Montesquieu.

desirable, while³ there was nobody beside my brother whom I could without invidiousness put over the head of my quaestor, especially as he was of noble family. Still while the Parthians seemed threatening I had determined to leave my brother, or even for the public good to stay myself, in spite of the decree of the Senate: now that by some marvellous good luck they have retired, my hesitation has been removed. I saw what would be the comments: So! put his brother in, has he? do you call this holding a province only for a year? what good is it that the Senate intended the provinces to go to those who had not previously held any government? why, here is a man has been three consecutive years! These are my reasons therefore for the public ear. And now for those which are for yours only? I should never⁴ have been free from the dread—such is the way in life—of some outbreak of passion, or some offence given, or neglect of duty. What if my nephew too should cause some trouble, being only a lad, and a headstrong lad too? His father however was not at all for sending him away, and was much annoyed that you thought he ought to. Whereas now with Caelius there—I am not saying, you understand, that he has ever done anything, but at any rate I am far less anxious. Then you may add another reason: Pompeius, strong man as he was, and deep as his roots were set, appointed Quintus Cassius without any election, and Caesar did the same for Antonius: was I to offend a man who had been regularly elected, and be sure to make him a spy on the conduct of anybody whom I left in charge? My way was better than that, and there are more precedents for this course, which certainly is better suited for my time of life. But, bless me! you do not know how I have ingratiated you with him: I read him a letter which if it did not come from you, at any rate did from your secretary⁴. The letters I

³ *Nam* refers to a suppressed clause, such as 'and I could not give it to anybody else.'

⁴ Cicero's lax morality about letters (compare Letter xxxi. note 4) seems

have from friends all invite me to claim a triumph, which I am inclined to think is a thing that ought not to be neglected in the present *renaissance* of my fortunes; so, my dear Atticus, please begin to be eager for it too, that you may keep me in countenance, if it is thought foolish of me.

XLIII. (AD FAM. XIV. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ATHENS TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA AT ROME.

October 18, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

- 1 With our dear boy Marcus and myself all is well, if it is well with you and my darling Tullia too. We got to Athens only on the 14th of this month, having had very bad winds and a tedious and disagreeable voyage. As we stepped out from the ship Acastus was there to meet us with the letters, though he had only three weeks to do it in, which is certainly quick travelling. Your letter was one of them, and from it I see you are afraid the previous ones may not have reached me. They were all safely delivered, and you must have taken a great deal of trouble to give so full an account of everything, for which I am much obliged. I am not surprised too that this letter which Acastus has brought is short, for you are now expecting to see me, or rather both of us, in person, and we, you may be sure, are longing to get home as soon as possible, though I see what a country it must be to come home to; for I learn from the letters which Acastus has brought me from many kind friends that things look like war, so that when once there I shall not be allowed to conceal my sentiments. But since we must take what fortune sends, I will exert myself all the more to come speedily, that I may

here to have extended to reading to Caelius an imaginary letter from Atticus! The seal was the only guarantee, though a most inadequate one (see note to Letter xvi. § 8), of genuineness. As Dean Merivale remarks (note to Abeken, p. 322), 'It is a curious trait of the morality of the times, not so much as regards the act itself, which may perhaps admit of some excuse, as from the evident unconsciousness of the writer that it requires any.'

have more opportunity for reconsidering my general position. I hope you will come on the road to meet me as far as you possibly can without injuring your health.

As to the legacy of Precius¹, I am very sorry indeed to receive it, for I loved him much. I should however wish you to see to this: if the sale is to come off before my arrival, let Atticus (or, if he is not well able, Camillus) undertake my part. When I have got safe home I mean to do all the rest myself: but even if you have already left Rome, be sure that this is done all the same. I hope, with God's blessing, to be in Italy about the middle of November. And now, my dearest, my much longed-for Terentia, if you love me be sure you both of you take care of your health. [Farewell.]

Athens, Oct. 18.

XLIV. (AD ATT. VII. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON A VISIT TO LUCIUS PONTIUS AQUILA, AT TREBULA¹,
TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

December, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

'Dionysius, who, as I too have found, is a most excellent person, and besides being very learned is quite devoted to you, arrived in Rome on the 18th of December, and gave me a letter from you.' This is every word you have to say about Dionysius in your letter. You do not add, mind², 'and he expressed his gratitude to you;' though he was certainly bound to do so, and if he had done, you with your

¹ One Lucius Precius is mentioned by Cicero (Verr. v. 62) as a Roman knight of good position at Panormus, and the legacy may have come from him. Or it may be 'of Precianus' (a friend of Cicero, mentioned Ad Fam. vii. 8. 2), in which case the adjective would have the same form as the substantive. This form shows that his original name was Precius, and that he had been adopted into another family, just as Octavius became Octavianus when adopted by Julius Caesar.

² Now Treglia, about eight miles from Capua. An estate at Trebula would be called Trebullanum. This Mr. Forsyth (p. 348) turns into Tribulanum, giving it apparently as the name of the town.

³ Boot suggests '*optatum*' for the strange word '*putato*:' = what I wanted to hear.

usual kindness would have been sure to add this. However, it is not left open for me now *chanter la palinodie* about him, after what I said in my former letter. Let us say therefore that he is undoubtedly a good man, since even on the present occasion he deserves some credit for giving me such an excellent opportunity of seeing through him.

- 2 Philogenes has given you a correct account: he has not neglected his duty at all. I wanted him to make use of the money as long as we could allow him, and consequently he has done so for the last thirteen months.
- 3 I am as anxious to hear that Pomptinus³ is doing well, as afraid what his entering the city, which you say he has done, may mean; for he would not have taken this step without some important reason. For myself, as the 2nd of January is Cross-Roads day⁴, I do not care to go and stay at the house at Alba on that day, lest my arrival should put the household to inconvenience: I shall make it the 3rd therefore, and thence to Rome on the 4th. I do not know on what day you look for your *accès* of fever, but I should be very sorry for you to have to move, and so make yourself worse.
- 4 As to what honours they are going to give me, unless it should prove that Caesar has been secretly working against me by means of his creatures among the tribunes, there seems to be a general acquiescence, and my own feelings are most inclined of all to acquiesce, since they agree that whatever is done will be right and proper, and all the more because I hear from many quarters that Pompeius and his council have determined to send me out to be Governor of Sicily. What Abderites they must be⁵! as you Greeks say. The Senate

³ One of Cicero's officers, mentioned Letter xxxi. § 4. His entering Rome implied that he had given up all hopes of attending Cicero's entry in triumph.

⁴ The Compitalia, or Cross-Roads day, a feast in honour of the household gods, was, like the Saturnalia, a special holiday for the slaves. Cicero had been invited to stay with Pompeius at Alba.

⁵ The people of Abdera, though it was the birthplace of three celebrated philosophers, Democritus, Protagoras, and Anaxarchus, were generally spoken of like our wise men of Gotham (Martial, x. 25; Juvenal, x. 50, etc.). Malines has a similar unenviable reputation among Belgians.

has passed no decree, the people have voted for no law that I should be intrusted with the government of Sicily. If on the other hand the State makes over the selection entirely to Pompeius, why must he send me more than any private individual? So if my military rank is going to give me any trouble, the first gate I come to shall serve me to get rid of it⁶. For when you say that there is amazing anxiety to 5 know what I shall do, and yet that not a single individual among the good citizens, or even the moderately good ones, has any doubt on the point, I do not see what sort of people you would call good citizens;—I for my part know of none,—of course I only mean if we are looking for classes of none but good citizens. Individuals no doubt here and there are sound, but in times of civil discord it is soundness in whole classes and different ranks of life we have to look for. The Senate? How can you call it sound, when it is entirely in fault if the provinces have no proper government at all? For Curio would never have persisted in his opposition if any attempt had been made to meet him properly; but the Senate refused to adopt the proposal, and the consequence is that no successor to Caesar was appointed at all. Or the tax-contractors? They never were more than broken reeds, but now they are Caesar's most devoted friends. Or the money-lenders? or the farmers, who are for peace at any price? But perhaps you fancy that they have a horror of finding themselves under a monarchy, whereas they never formerly kicked against the yoke, provided one would leave them in peace. What then? Ought 6 we to allow a man who still retains his army after his legal term has expired to stand for office? To me, on the contrary, it seems that even his absence is conclusive. But grant one and you grant the other too. Do I approve of the ten-year term of military authority, carried too in the way that it was? If so, I must equally approve of my own banishment; of the loss of our Campanian territory; the adoption of a patrician

⁶ See Introduction to Letter xlii.

by a plebeian, and a native of Cadiz by one of Mytilene⁷; I must approve of the gains of Labienus and Mamurra; the park of Balbus, and his villa at Tusculum. But all these things have only one source. It was our place to resist him while he was weak, and that was easy enough; now it is against eleven legions; cavalry as much as ever he likes; all the people beyond the Po; the masses of the capital; numbers of the tribunes; a body of men as desperate as these are; and a general of his immense authority and coolness. This is the man now with whom we have to reckon by the sword, or 7 legally ratify his pretensions. 'Fight to the last,' you say, 'rather than be a slave.' And for what? To be proscribed if you fail: to be a slave none the less if you succeed. What then would I propose to do? Just what sheep do: when they have lost their own flock they will go with any of their own species. Like an ox following a herd I mean to follow the good citizens, or any who will claim to be the good ones, even if they only mean to rush blindly on. I see plain enough what is the best course in our sad straits: for nobody can say for certain what will happen when we have got to blows, while everybody can tell this much, that if the good cause is defeated our foe will exact the blood of our leading men as cruelly as did Cinna, and the treasures of the wealthy as avariciously as Sulla⁸. Here I am all this time going on *politiquant* with you, and I would do so even longer, but that my lamp is failing me. This is my conclusion: 'Marcus Tullius is in possession of the House.' Then Marcus Tullius begs to support his honourable friend, Gnaeus Pompeius, or, which is the same thing, Pomponius Atticus.

⁷ Compare Introduction to Letter x for the Campanian land-division, and to Letter ix for the adoption of Clodius by Fonteius. The native of Cadiz is Lucius Cornelius Balbus the elder, who was adopted by one Theophanes of Mytilene; but why their birthplace is mentioned is not clear. Mr. Watson thinks it was to mark the degradation of the Roman franchise. The whole passage means that the acts of the triumvirs must stand or fall together.

⁸ Caesar's utter falsification of this prediction is well known. See especially Mommsen, iv. 2. 378, and Cicero's striking admission, Letter xci. § 8.

Give my remembrances to Alexis. What a very gentlemanly boy he is—unless perchance during my absence he has grown up into a young man, for he seemed to be likely enough to do that.

XLV. (AD ATT. VII. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

End of December, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

‘Eh, what?’ you exclaim, ‘am I to have a letter from you every day?’ Every day, if I can find a messenger to send it by. ‘Why, you are just coming yourself!’ Very well, as soon as I am come, I will stop them. One of yours I find has never reached me, which my good friend Lucius Quinctius was bringing when he was assaulted and robbed near the tomb of Basilus. So see if there was anything in it which I ought to know, and at the same time *tranchez cette question*: assuredly it is a problem in *la haute politique*. We will say that things must take one of these courses. (1) Caesar is allowed to stand for the consulship, and yet meanwhile, through the influence either of the Senate or the tribunes, to retain his army. (2) Caesar is induced to give up his province and army, and thereupon is elected consul. (3) We fail in persuading him to do this, and thereupon the elections are held without admitting his claim; he meanwhile consenting to this, and so retaining his province. (4) He employs the tribunes to interfere, but makes no violent resistance: the result being that we are brought to an interregnum.

Again, he may bring his army to bear upon us because we refuse to admit his claim; and then we must fight it out with him. In that case he may draw the sword either (1) at once, while we are hardly prepared for him, or (2) later on when his friends have proposed to the assembly his claim to stand as being legal, and it has been rejected. Then he may appeal to arms (1) merely on the single pretext of the refusal of his claims; or (2) he may combine it with some other

reason, if it should turn out that any tribune, for obstructing the proceedings of the Senate, or inciting the populace to riot, has been publicly censured, or had his powers limited, or been suspended, or deprived of his office (or, what is the same thing¹, pretends to have been deprived) and takes refuge with him.

Lastly, war being once begun, we may have (1) to defend the capital; or (2) to abandon it, and intercept his provisions and other supplies.

Now which of all these evils, one or other of which we must unquestionably undergo, are you inclined to think the least? I have no doubt you will say if he can be persuaded to give up his army and be elected consul on that condition.

3 That is exactly how it stands; if he will only give way so far nothing can possibly be said against it, and I should not be surprised at his doing so, if he does not succeed in getting permission to stand and still to retain his army. Some people however think there is nothing more we have to dread than his election to the consulship. 'I would rather have it so,' you will say, 'than with his army.' Undoubtedly; yet I can tell you there is one person who considers even the former by itself a frightful disease, for which there is no cure. Give way, must we, if he is bent upon it? Fancy seeing him such a consul again as you saw him in his first consulship! And yet our friend admits that even then in his weaker days he was stronger than all the Republic together. What then do you expect now? And if he is to be consul, Pompeius is fully determined to stop in Spain. What a dreadful state of things, if what we cannot refuse him is the very thing most to be deprecated, and yet one his acceptance of which would instantly win him the highest regard

4 of all good citizens! So let us put this alternative out of the question, which they say he could never be brought to accept.

¹ Notice the weak alternative marked by 've,' after a succession of strong alternatives marked by 'aut.'

Then which is the worst evil of the rest? To give way to him on what the same person characterises as his 'most unblushing' demand? What indeed could be more unblushing? You have held a province for ten years, a time which you got not by a grant of the Senate, but by your own faction and violence. Now that period—not one of law but only of your own self-willed choice, but still let us say the period of the law—has elapsed, and a vote is passed for your successor. Then you step in and say: You must have some consideration for me. Will you have some for us? Are you forsooth to keep your army longer than the nation has voted it to you against the will of the Senate? The sword must decide, must it, unless I give way? At least then, is the retort, our hopes are bright, whether our prospect is that of conquering or only of dying before slavery begins. To conclude, if we must fight, the time depends on the chapter of accidents, and the immediate object upon the circumstances of the time, so I do not propose to tax you with that question. Send me an answer to these if you see one; as for me, they rack my thoughts night and day.

PART III.

THE CIVIL WAR.

PART III.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR (JAN. 1, 49 B.C.) TO
THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS (AUG. 9, 48 B.C.)

XLVI. (AD ATT. VII. 10.)

FROM CICERO IN THE SUBURBS OF ROME TO ATTICUS IN THE
CITY.

Jan. 17 (probably), 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

On the first day of the year 49 Curio appeared in the Senate with Caesar's ultimatum, by which he offered, until he was elected consul, to retain nothing more than Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria with a force of merely two legions. This proposal is apparently of such dangerous moderation that Dean Merivale thinks he must have calculated on the blind passion of his enemies closing their ears to any offer of compromise whatever. At any rate the proposals were rejected, and Caesar ordered to resign his provinces by the 1st of July; and when the tribunes Antonius and Quintus Cassius interposed their veto it was disallowed; whereupon they fled with Curio to the camp. Caesar then addressed his soldiers amid great enthusiasm, and marched from Ravenna. The outbreak of the war is popularly marked by the crossing of the tiny river Rubicon, the northern boundary of Italy, in the middle of January (i.e. by the true time about the end of November), but the occupation of Ariminum (Rimini) next morning was its explicit declaration. When the news reached Rome the consuls and the majority of the senatorial party fled in a panic, without even securing the treasury, a fact which strikingly shows their unprepared condition; and they were followed after a little hesitation by Cicero, who had not entered the city, lest he should lose his military rights, and the triumph for which he was perpetually hankering. (Letter xlii, Introduction.) This hasty note was probably written just before starting.

Merivale, ii. 120-139; Mommsen, iv. 2. 373; Forsyth, pp. 353-356; Abeken, p. 284; Froude, Caesar, ch. xx. and xxi.

I have suddenly come to the resolution of setting out before daylight, to avoid exciting any attention or gossip,

particularly as my attendants still have the laurels on their wands. As for anything beyond that, upon my honour I have no idea either of what I am doing or what I must do; I am so stunned by the rashness and utterly frantic nature of our decision. But how am I to give you advice, when it is your decision that I myself am waiting for? As to our chief, what designs he has or had I know not, he being at present somewhere among the country towns, in the toils and quite bewildered. All of us, supposing he decides to make a stand in Italy, will be together; but if he means to leave it, we must in that case consider further. Certainly hitherto (unless it is I who am out of my senses) everything has gone blunderingly and heedlessly. Do pray write to me very often—anything, whatever it be, that would find its way first to your tongue if you were here.

XLVII. (AD ATT. VII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT MINTURNÆ (?) TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

JAN. 19, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

While Caesar was at Ariminum, Titus Labienus, his very able second in command, deserted to the Pompeian camp—the solitary instance of a defection from the great general during the whole war. Caesar contemptuously sent his baggage after him, and then moved southwards and occupied the district of Picenum (now called The Marches), almost without opposition. Pompeius entrusted Cicero with a general superintendence of the Campanian coast in his interests, while he himself fell back, first upon Luceria in Apulia, and then on Brundisium. Cicero professed to Pompeius (see Letter I.) to be zealously discharging his commission, but let Caesar know that he was residing quietly on his own estate.

This letter has a curiously declamatory tone, differing much from the one of two days before. The succeeding letters show perpetually shifting phases of feeling, varying from confidence to utter despair, but all alike penetrated by an amply justified dread of the probable cruelties of the Pompeian party.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 362; Merivale, ii. 141; Forsyth, pp. 355-359; Abeken, pp. 284-296.

- 1 Pray tell me, what is the meaning of all this? What is happening? To me it is all as dark as night. 'We have lost

Ancona, but still hold Cingulum¹: Labienus has deserted Caesar's standard.' Why, are we talking of a Roman general, or of a Hannibal? Oh, mad and pitiable man! who has never seen even in a faint reflection '*splendorem pulcritudinemque virtutis*'². And yet he says he is doing all this 'for the sake of his honour.' Why how can honour exist without honourable life? Is it 'honourable' then to retain your army without the lawful authority—to capture the towns of your fellow-countrymen, in order to clear the road to the city that gave you birth—to be plotting your '*table rase de dettes*,' your '*rentrée des émigrés*,' and countless other nefarious watch-words, for the sake of empire,—

'Quo nihil maius meliusve terris
Fata donavere, bonique divi'³

Much good may his successes do him! Dearer to me, upon my honour, is one day's basking in that well-earned⁴ sunshine of yours, than all the kingdoms in the world if they must be won by such means; nay, let me rather die a thousand deaths than harbour one moment such a thought as his. But, say you, supposing you did set your heart on² this? Surely nobody is forbidden to wish? On the contrary, what I hold is that this mere wishing is more wretched than being nailed upon the cross; there is but one thing more miserable than it—to be granted your wish after all.

¹ Now Cingoli, in the Marche, about 20 m. south-west of Ancona. It had been rebuilt by Labienus out of his enormous wealth, but opened its gates at once to Caesar.

² After much hesitation I have ventured to adopt this paraphrase, because it is Cicero's own attempt (De Off. ii. 10) to express the inseparable notion of beauty so hard to translate in τὸ καλόν. Moreover a stilted and rhetorical phrase is in keeping with the tone of the letter.

³ Hor. Od. iv. 2. 37. Cicero is quoting from Eur. Phoen. l. 506.

⁴ The exact force of this word is hard to determine, even if the text is beyond doubt. Its legal meaning is 'a thing acquired by bequest or gift,' which may be the right one here, but we cannot explain the allusion. Or it may imply that such enjoyment is the true *gain* of industry, opposed to the prizes at which Caesar is wrongly grasping. Boot explains it as a holiday successfully snatched from business.

3 But enough of this: I am only too ready to find an easy *passé-temps* in dwelling upon our troubles with you⁶. To return to our chief—for heaven's sake tell me what you think of Pompeius's resolution—I mean of course his abandoning Rome? Because for my part *je n'y vois goutte*. At times I say nothing could be more unreasonable. 'What, abandon the capital! Then would you do just the same if the Gauls were to come?' 'One's country,' he retorts, 'does not consist of bricks and mortar.' 'No, but it does of hearths and homes.' 'Themistocles did just the same when his city could not stand by herself against the rising flood of Asia.' 'Well, but so did Pericles *not* do some fifty years later on, though he had only the bare shell of the city to save; and our own forefathers in the olden time, after they had lost the rest of Rome, still held out in their citadel.

'Ad nos sic tenuis famae perlabitur aura⁷.'

4 On the other hand, from the indignation of the provincial towns and the language of people I meet, there seems ground for believing that this resolution will not be without some effect. The universal complaint is very remarkable (I do not know how it may be with you, but you will be sure to let me know), that Rome has no Senate, no government left. The flight of Pompeius is at last creating a profound sensation; in short, I may say the aspect of the case is quite altered; they think now that no concessions whatever must be made to Caesar. Do explain to me what all this really means.

5 I myself have had put under my care a not very troublesome business. Pompeius wants me to be in the position of a sort of *Préfet* to Campania and all the sea-board about here, to whom the levying of troops and management of things in general are to be referred, and so I expect to have to move about from place to place. You of course can see by

⁶ COOON is of course a *vox nihili*, probably concealing some Greek participle.

⁷ Aen. vii. 646. Cicero is quoting from Iliad ix. 524.

this time the real object of Caesar's *élan*, and what the inclinations of the populace point to, and in fact affairs in general. Do write to me about it all, and moreover, since changes are so rapid, as often as possible, for I become pacified when I am either writing to you or reading what you have to tell me.

XLVIII. (AD ATT. VII. 13).

FROM CICERO AT CALLES¹ TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Jan. 23, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

About that business of Vennonius I agree with you².¹ Labienus has, in my judgment, acquitted himself quite *en héros*. We have not for a long while had a more noble example to citizens, and he has succeeded, if in nothing else, at least in annoying his chief; but, even on broader grounds, I think it has done some good. My heart warms too towards Piso, whose deliberate verdict about his son-in-law³ will, I suspect, carry weight with it. Yet you see the real character of this war. It really is a civil war, not because it is the offspring of the dissensions of citizens, but of the reckless ambition of one abandoned man who happens to be a citizen. Now his strength is in his army, and while he is attracting many by hopes and promises, his desires have risen to no less than everything every one else can call his own. This is the man to whom the capital has been abandoned, overflowing with supplies, and stripped naked of all defence! What is there you have not to dread from one who can regard your holy temples and your homes, not as his country, but his prize of war? But what his next movements are to be, and how he means to carry them out without Senate or Government, I cannot see.

¹ Now Calvi, about ten miles north-west of Capua. Cicero seems to have been fond of the place.

² Gaius Vennonius was a collector in Cilicia, and a friend of Cicero. The allusion in this paragraph we have no means of explaining.

³ Caesar's wife Calpurnia was the daughter of Piso.

He will not be able for a moment even to pretend that his acts are constitutionally *en règle*. But we—ah, where and when shall we be allowed to raise our heads again, when you perceive as clearly as myself how *peu général* is our general? Why he did not even know about the state of Picenum; and facts show how entirely he is without any settled plan; for, to say nothing of his other blunders these ten years past, what conceivable terms were not better than
2 running away thus? Indeed, even now I do not know what his views are, yet I lose no opportunity of pressing the question upon him by letter. It is obvious that his timidity and confusion are the utmost that can be conceived; so that I not only find no forces (to raise which was the very object of his being retained near Rome), but no place fixed as the centre for our forces. We have to trust entirely to two legions that have been kept ready for us by a piece of sharp practice⁴, and are at heart all but for our opponents. For hitherto, at any rate, our recruits have been enlisted against their will, and are strongly disinclined to fighting; yet the time for making terms is gone by. What is to be the end I cannot see; at all events we—or our general if you like—have brought it to this, that we have left the harbour without a rudder, and
3 must trust ourselves to the storm. Consequently I am in doubt what to do about our boys. At times I think they had better be sent away to Greece. Then, again, about Tullia and Terentia—when a vision rises before my eyes of barbarian troops entering Rome I shudder at everything, but when I think of Dolabella I breathe again a little. But I should like you to decide what you think ought to be done, taking into account first of all *la sûreté* (you see it is one thing for me to take thought for them, and quite another for myself); and, secondly, what public opinion will be, so that I may not be blamed for consenting to let them stay at Rome when all

⁴ See Introduction to Letter xxxv. The Senate moreover kept the two legions thus demanded by Pompeius for the Parthian war in readiness for his use at Capua. Mommsen, iv. 2. 353.

good citizens have left it in a body. If I may go farther, you too and Peducaeus, who has written to me, must now make up your minds how you mean to act, for the place you both occupy in your order is such that just as much will be expected of you as of men in the highest rank of the state. But of this you may well judge yourself, seeing that it is you I have to ask to take thought for me and mine.

I have only now to ask you to find out as far as you can⁴ how matters are going, and to let me know, and any conjectures as to the future at which you have arrived. This last indeed I am even more anxious for; because while everybody is telling me what has happened, it is you I look to for what will happen—

‘Bene qui conciliet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum’.

You will pardon my running on thus; it is not only a relief to me, at least when I am writing to you, but it helps to elicit a letter in reply.

XLIX. (AD ATT. VIII. 11 A.)

FROM POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA IN APULIA, TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

Feb. 10, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Fabius Vergilianus joined me on the 10th of February. From him I learn that Domitius with his eleven cohorts, and fourteen cohorts that Vibullius Rufus has brought up, is on his way to join me. His intention was to start from Corfinium on the 13th, Hirrus to follow soon after with five of the cohorts. In my opinion you had better come to us at Luceria; here, I think, you will be most in safety.

⁴ This is Cicero's own rendering (De Div. ii. 5) of the line of Euripides which in this letter he quotes in the original.

L. (AD ATT. VIII. 11 B.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA.

Feb. 16, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 I received your letter at Formiae on the 15th of February, from which I gathered that what had happened in the Marches of Picenum was far more favourable than had been represented to me, and I was glad to recognise the bravery and energy of Vibullius. For myself, while I have not yet quitted that part of the coast with the command of which I was entrusted, I have none the less kept a vessel in readiness. Indeed, such were the reports I heard and such my anxiety, that whatever plan you had decided upon, that I should have deemed it my duty to pursue. Now since, thanks to your encouragement and your good judgment, I am in better hopes, if you think it possible to hold Tarracina and the sea-coast I will remain there, though there are no garrisons in the towns. In fact there is no one of our rank in these parts except Marcus Eppius, a prudent and active officer whom I decided to station at Minturnae, since Lucius Torquatus, a gallant gentleman and of influential position, is not with me at
- 2 Formiae, being, I suppose, on his way to join you. Of course, as you had last instructed me, I came to Capua, on the very day you left Teanum Sidicinum; since you had expressed a wish that, in conjunction with the proprætor, Marcus Considius, I would there represent your interests. On arriving I found Titus Ampius Balbus busily employed in raising troops, which were then transferred to the command of Libo, who also shows great zeal, and has much influence in that district. I stayed at Capua as long as the consuls, and came back to that town a second time, as the consuls had ordered, on the 5th of February. After staying there three
- 3 days I returned again to Formiae. At present I am not aware what are your designs or plan of conduct in the war. If you think we ought to hold this coast—and it certainly

has a good position and possesses considerable importance and many inhabitants of distinction, and, in my judgment, is capable of being maintained—then there must be some one to take the command; if, on the other hand, we are to concentrate all our forces, I have no hesitation about coming to you at once, and there is nothing I should wish more: as, indeed, I mentioned to you the day we left Rome. For my own part, if there is anybody in whose eyes I have been somewhat backward, provided only I am not so in yours, I care nothing; and yet if, as I perceive, we must go to war, I have full confidence that I shall without difficulty do my duty to the satisfaction of all.

I have sent you a confidential friend, Marcus Tullius, to 4 whom you may, if you think fit, entrust any letters for me.

LI. (AD ATT. VIII. 12 D.)

FROM POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA TO LUCIUS DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS
NOW UNDER SIEGE AT CORFINIUM.

Feb. 17, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

The first resistance to Caesar's rapid progress southwards was made at Corfinium. That city, the capital of the ancient Paeligni, in the territory now called the Abruzzi, near Popoli, occupied one of the strongest positions in Italy, for which reason it had been the proposed capital of the allies in the Social War. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caesar's intended successor in Gaul, there made a stand against Caesar, who invested the place on Feb. 14, for seven days, hoping for relief from Pompeius. On the receipt of this letter he infamously attempted to escape, leaving his soldiers behind, but they against his will handed the town over to the conqueror. This was Caesar's first signal example of his extraordinary clemency throughout the whole war. He dismissed all his prisoners unharmed, merely proclaiming himself as the representative of law and order.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 375-6; Merivale, ii. 145-150; Forsyth, p. 359; Abeken, p. 288.

I have this day—February 17—received the letter in which 1 you inform me that Caesar has invested Corfinium. I suspected and forewarned you of what is really being done, that without

wishing to risk a battle with you at present he is drawing all his forces together, and hemming you in, so that you may not have free communication with me; and thus succeed in uniting your ranks of loyal citizens with those of whose fidelity we are doubtful. This makes me all the more disturbed by your letter. For, in the first place, I cannot trust the fidelity of these soldiers I have with me sufficiently to stake on a battle the whole fortune of the country; while added to this the men who have been enrolled in the consuls' 2 levies have not yet joined. So make every effort, if by any possible means you can even now succeed in extricating yourself, to come here as soon as possible before the enemy can get all his forces concentrated; for the new recruits cannot be collected here on short notice, nor, even if they could be collected, are you unaware how little we can trust men who barely even know one another against experienced regiments.

LII. (AD FAM. XVI. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT CAPUA TO HIS FREEDMAN TIRO AT PATRAE.

Jan. 27, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Marcus Tullius Tiro, the favourite freedman and pupil of Cicero, was in the opinion of many critics the first collector and editor of his master's letters; as he certainly was of his life and speeches. See *Ad Fam. xvi. 5* (the whole of that book of the letters is addressed to him); Boissier, *Recherches sur la manière dont furent recueillies et publiées les lettres de Cicéron*, p. 8. At this time he was lying ill at Patrae in Greece. Letter liii, which is of unknown date, Mr. Watson has inserted here 'as an illustration of Cicero's care for Tiro.'

Smith's *Dict. Biogr.* iii. p. 1152; Forsyth, p. 347; Abeken, p. 271.

- 1 You may judge of the imminent hazard to which my safety, like that of all true patriots, nay, the whole fabric of the state is exposed, from the fact that we have left our homes, yes and our city herself, to be pillaged, it may be, or burnt. To such a state have our fortunes come that, without some interference of God's providence or of chance, we must inevitably

be ruined. For my own part, ever since I came to Rome I have never ceased to think, or say, or do whatever had most bearing on the side of peace; but such an unaccountable madness had possessed not only the enemies, but the nominal friends of order, that they were burning to fight it out, in spite of my cries that the worst of miseries is a civil war. Consequently when Caesar, hurried away it would seem by his passions, and forgetting alike his name and his position, had seized Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretium¹, we abandoned the capital. How far this was bravely or how far it was wisely done is beside the question now to discuss; at any rate you see the crisis we are in. He expressly offers us the following terms: that if Pompeius will proceed to Spain, and we will disband the men we have lately enrolled, and our forces in garrison, he will then resign Northern Gaul to Domitius, and Southern to Considius Nonianus, to whom they have been assigned, and will return home to stand for the consulship, withdrawing his claim to be allowed to be nominated for it in his absence, and putting in an appearance as a candidate for the three market-days. These terms we have accepted, only with the stipulation that he shall remove his garrisons from the towns he has occupied, so that the Senate may be convened without fear at Rome to authorise these items of the agreement. Supposing he consents to this, there is some hope of peace, not with honour, because we are being dictated to, but anything in the world is better than to go on as we are at present. Should he however prove unwilling to stand by his own conditions, we are ready to go to war, but it would be such a one as he could hardly face, especially if he has been the first to back out of the agreement he himself has made, provided only that we can succeed in cutting him off from all access to the town. This we are in hopes can be done, as

¹ Ancona retains its old name; the other three are now Rimini, Pesaro, and Arezzo.

we are enrolling large numbers, and have reason to believe that he is afraid, if he takes the step of marching against Rome, of losing the two provinces of Gaul, both of which he finds are, with the exception of the Transpadanes, most hostile to him. There are too in his rear six legions from Spain, and some powerful auxiliaries under the command of Afranius and Petreius. It seems probable that if he persists in his mad venture he may be crushed. If only we can save Rome! Moreover he has suffered a very great blow in the refusal of Titus Labienus, who held the highest position in his army, to be a partaker in his impious attempt. He has abandoned his chief and is now with us, and it is said there are several who will do the same.

5 For myself I am still in charge of all the sea-coast beyond Formiae. I shrank from undertaking any more important duty, in order that my letters and remonstrances might carry greater weight with the adversary. If however we do come to war, I see that I shall definitely be put in command of a camp and some regular legions. I have another annoyance too in seeing that my son-in-law Dolabella is in Caesar's camp. All this, which I wanted to let you know, you must be sure not to let worry you, and interfere with your recovery.

6 I have written a strong appeal on your behalf to Aulus Varro, whom I have found to be not only warmly attached to myself but also to have a great regard for you, to be careful about your health and your voyage home, and take you entirely under his charge and protection. All this I feel confident he will do, because he not only promised it, but spoke very obligingly to me about you. Since you could not be with me at the time when I was most in need of your services and your fidelity, be sure you do not now overhurry yourself, or try to put to sea if you are unwell or the weather is bad. I shall never think you have been late in coming when you have once come safe. Up to the present time I have met nobody who has seen you since Marcus Volusius, from whom I got your letter. This

I was not surprised at, since my letter too could hardly, I should think, get safe to you in such stormy weather as this. But do your best to get well again, and if you are quite recovered when one can sail with comfort, you should sail then. My son Marcus is at my house at Formiae, Terentia and Tullia at Rome. Make haste to get well again.

CAPUA, Jan. 29.

LIII. (AD FAM. XVI. 15.)

FROM CICERO TO TIRO.

Date uncertain (see previous Letter).

Aegypta arrived here on the 12th of April. Although he reported that you were now quite rid of your fever and going on very well, he nevertheless caused me some anxiety by his report that you were not able to write to me, the more so because Hermia, who ought to have been here on the same day, has not yet come. I am more anxious than you can believe about your health. Only free me from this anxiety and I will free you from all duties. I would write you more if I thought you could now read more with pleasure. Use all the talents you possess, of which I have no small opinion, to keep yourself safe for my sake as well as your own. Again and again I repeat, take every precaution about your health. Good-bye.

P.S. Hermia is just come. I have your note with its poor weak handwriting—no wonder too after so severe an illness. I send out Aegypta to stay with you because he is not a bad companion and appeared to me to be very fond of you, and with him a cook whom you may find useful. Good-bye.

LIV. (AD ATT. VIII. 3.)

FROM CICERO AT CALES TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 20, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Being in extreme agitation about this great and terrible crisis, and having no means of discussing matters with you

in person, I want at any rate to avail myself of your judgment. Now the question about which I am in doubt is simply this. If Pompeius should fly from Italy (which I suspect he will do), how do you think I ought to act? To make it easier for you to advise me, I will briefly set forth the arguments that occur to me on both sides of the question.

- 2 Not only the obligations Pompeius laid me under in the matter of my restoration, and my own intimacy with him, but even patriotism itself inclines me to think that I ought to make my decision as his decision, or, in other words, my fate as his fate. There is this reason also. If I stay behind and desert my post among that band of true and illustrious patriots, I must perforce fall completely under one man's yoke. Now although he avails himself frequently of occasions to show his friendliness to me (indeed, as you well know, fearing this storm now hanging over our heads, I made this point safe long ago), still I have to consider two different questions—first, how far can I trust him; and, secondly, assuming it to be absolutely certain that he is friendly disposed to me, would it show the brave man or the honest citizen to remain in a city where one has filled the highest offices of peace and war, achieved immortal deeds, and been crowned with the honours of her most dignified priesthood, and now will have not only to become an empty name but undergo some danger, attended very likely with a stigma of
- 3 disgrace, should Pompeius ever again grasp the helm? So much for this side; see now what may be said on the other.

Pompeius has in our cause done nothing wisely, nothing strongly; nothing, I may add, that has not been contrary to my opinion and advice. I pass over those old complaints, that it was he who himself nourished this enemy of the Republic, who gave him his honours, put the sword into his hand—that it was he who advised him to force laws through by violence, trampling on the warnings of religion—that it was he who made the addition of Transalpine Gaul, he who is his son-in-law, he who as Augur allowed

the adoption of Clodius; who showed more activity in recalling me than in preventing my exile; who took it on him to extend Caesar's term of government, and support in all his proceedings while he was away: that he too even in his third consulship, after he had begun to pose as a defender of the constitution, actually exerted himself to get the ten tribunes to propose that absence should not invalidate the election; nay more, he expressly sanctioned this by one of his own acts, and opposed the consul Marcus Marcellus, who proposed that the tenure of the Gallic provinces should come to an end on the 1st of March. But to pass over all this, what could be more discreditable, what more blundering, than this evacuation of the city, or I had better say this ignominious flight? What terms ought not to have been accepted sooner than abandon our country? The terms were bad? That I allow; but is anything worse than this? But he will win back the constitution? When? What preparations even have we made to warrant such a hope? Have we not lost all Picenum, left open the road to the capital, and abandoned the whole of our treasure, public and private, to the foe? In a word, there is no common cause, no strength, no centre to draw such people together as might yet care to show fight for the Republic. Apulia has been chosen—the most desolate part of Italy, and the most remote from the onward movement of this war: it would seem that in despair they were looking for flight, with some easy access to the coast. I took the charge of Capua much against my will¹—not that I would evade that duty, but since our cause could evoke no sympathy from any class, nor any openly from individuals (it might be found of course to some extent among the lovers of order, but languid as usual), and since I saw for myself that the mass of the people, as one went down to the very dregs, were more and more inclined to the other side, many even longing for a revolution, I told him to his

¹ 'Invite' is an obvious correction of 'in te,' and occurs on the margin of the Medicean MS. Boot however calls this 'very bad,' and reads 'non accepi Capuam.'

face I would undertake to do nothing without forces and without money. Consequently I have had no responsibility at all, because I saw from the very first that nothing was really intended but escape. Say that I now follow their flight; but whither? Not with him; once I had set out to join him, but found that Caesar was in those parts, so that I could not safely reach Luceria. I must sail by the western sea, in the depth of winter, not knowing where to steer for. And again, what about being with my brother, or leaving him, and taking my son? Or how must I do, when either alternative will involve the greatest difficulty, the greatest mental anxiety? And then too what a raid he will make on me and my fortunes when I am out of the way—fiercer than on other people, because he will fancy perhaps that outrages on me are no small recommendation to the masses². Again, these fetters, remember—I mean these laurels on my attendants' staves³, how inconvenient to take them out of Italy! What place indeed will be safe for me, supposing I do find the sea calm enough to go now, before I have actually joined him? though where that will be, and how to get there, I have no notion.

On the other hand, if I stop where I am and am permitted to find some place on this side of the water, my conduct will precisely resemble that of Philippus, or Lucius Flaccus, or Quintus Mucius under Cinna's reign of terror⁴. And however this decision ended for the last-named, yet still he at any

² This important admission stands almost alone in Cicero's writings, and deserves more notice than it has received. It seems to show at least that the illegal or ultra-legal execution of Catilina's associates had never been forgiven, and that the acclamations on Cicero's recall (Letter xx) were not those of the masses. Compare Beesly's *Clodius*, pp. 64, 81; and Mr. Watson's note on this passage.

³ Compare Letter xlvii.

⁴ Lucius Marcius Philippus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, all probably ex-consuls, remained in Rome after the occupation of Cinna and Marius (82 B.C.) when the rest of their party fled to Sulla's camp. The last-named was murdered by Damasippus, by order of the younger Marius. Mommsen, iii. pp. 327, 336. Thrasybulus, on the other hand, left Athens under the Thirty Tyrants, and when he returned in 401 B.C. it was to overthrow them.

rate used to say that he saw what really did happen would occur, but that it was his deliberate choice in preference to marching sword in hand against the homes of the very city that gave him birth. With Thrasybulus it was otherwise and perhaps better; but there is a sound basis for the policy and sentiments of Mucius; as there is also for this [which Philippus did⁵]: to wait for your opportunity when you cannot resist, just as much as to seize your opportunity when a chance has been given. But even in this case again those staves of my attendants still involve some awkwardness; for say that his feelings are friendly to me (I am not sure that this is so, but let us assume it); then he must offer me a triumph. I fear that to decline may be perilous—[to accept] an offence with all good citizens⁶. Ah, you exclaim, what a difficult, what an insoluble problem! Yet the solution must be found; for what can one do? And lest you should have formed the idea that I am rather inclined towards staying, because I have argued more on that side of the question, it is quite possible, as is so frequently the case in debates, that one side has more words, the other more worth. Therefore I should be glad if when you give me your opinion you would look upon me as making up my mind quite dispassionately on a most important question. I have a ship all ready off Caieta as well as at Brundisium.

But lo and behold, while I am writing you these very lines 7

⁵ The word 'Philippi' is apparently the gloss of some copyist who mistook the meaning of 'illa,' which rather unusually refers to the words following. For the conduct of Mucius and of Philippus has just been stated as identical, namely, staying at Rome in spite of the danger, whereas here an antithesis is obviously meant. This must be either the example of Thrasybulus, or the moral of it—to wait for your opportunity—which Cicero intimates he should approve.

⁶ It is quite possible to translate these words as they stand, *ne* depending on *vereor* understood, as in *De Fin.* v. 3. 8, 'Sed ne, dum huic obsequor, vobis molestus sim;' *Plautus, Most.* 922; *Tac. Ann.* i. 47, *Hist.* iii. 46, &c. The various conjectures, *me* for *ne*, and *est* for *sit* (*Orelli, Boot*), to make *ne* = 'even if it be not' (*Hofmann*), &c., are therefore unnecessary, in spite of *Boot's* off-hand assertion of the impossibility of a defence of *ne*. But the insertion of 'accipere' is absolutely required by the sense: it was not the refusal of a triumph, but the acceptance of it from Caesar that would be an offence with the 'good citizens.'

by night in my house at Cales, in come the couriers, and here is a letter to say that Caesar is before Corfinium, and that in Corfinium is Domitius with an army resolute and even eager for battle. I question whether our general will absolutely be guilty of abandoning Domitius, though it is true he had already sent Scipio on before with two cohorts to Brundisium, and written a despatch to the consuls ordering one or other of them to go at the head of the legion enrolled by Faustus into Sicily: but it will be scandalous if Domitius is really left to his fate when he is imploring for help. There are some hopes, not in my opinion very good ones, but much accepted in these parts, that there has been a battle in the Pyrenees between Afranius and Trebonius; that Trebonius was beaten off; and moreover that your friend Fabius has come over to us with all his troops; and, to crown it all, that Afranius is advancing with a strong force. If this be really so, we shall perhaps make a stand in Italy. As for me, since Caesar's route is uncertain, he being expected equally by way of Capua and of Luceria, I have sent Lepta to Pompeius with a letter, while I myself, for fear of falling in with him anywhere, have started again for Formiae. I thought it best to let you know this, and am writing with more composure than I have written of late, not bringing my own opinion forward, but trying to elicit yours.

LV. (AD ATT. VIII. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 25, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

This letter speaks of an answer to Caesar, which had somehow been made public, and the expressions here quoted from it are found in Letter lxiv. But the latter not being mentioned in Letter lxiii, the date of which is March 18, was probably not written until after that one, whereas this is dated Feb. 25. Schütz therefore supposes, and his conjecture is generally accepted, that it is a combination of two which were written at different times. See Watson, p. 351.

I am not at all troubled about what you tell me, that my 1 letter has got abroad: indeed I have myself given it to several people to take a copy of; for after all that has happened, and all that is hanging over us, I cannot but wish that it should be left on record what my views are about terms of peace. Now in using arguments towards this end, above all when addressed to such a man as he is, I saw no more likely way of impressing him than by saying that my object in writing would commend itself to his 'wisdom.' If I have called that 'admirable,' inasmuch as my object was to urge him to do what is essential for the safety of our country, I had no dread of the appearance of flattering a man at whose feet in such a cause I would willingly have flung myself. As to the passage about granting some time, that has nothing to do with terms of peace, but is to ask for some consideration for myself, and for what I owe to my friends: for when I assure him that I have had no part in the war, though that is plainly attested by facts, I have all the same laid some stress on this to give more weight to my recommendations; and this applies also to my acceptance of his claim. But what point has all this now? If it had only 2 done some good! Truly, I will make no objection if this letter you speak of is to be read before all the people, seeing that our chief himself has published a letter he wrote to the same correspondent in which these words occur: 'considering your *most* distinguished services.' More distinguished than his own then—more than Scipio's? It was only the exigency of the times; why even such men as you and your friend go to meet him five miles out:—and why just now? Ask yourself whence he is coming; what he is doing now; what he means to do. Why, how much more boldly will he be able to trust his own claim, when he has found people like you not only thronging to him, but putting on a look of pleasure at welcoming him? Are you to blame then? No, you indeed are most certainly not; but all the same the signs are much confounded, by which one might tell a real from a

counterfeit sympathy with him. But what of these decrees which I see? However, this is more open than I had intended. I hope to be at Arpinum on the last day of the month, and then to make the round of our country houses, which I despaired of ever seeing again.

Your advice which is that of an *homme de cœur*, and yet not too bold for our present times, has my warm approval. Lepidus indeed—for, to his great gratification, we are *camarades* most days now—never did approve of quitting Italy; far less does Tullus, whose letters are frequently passed on to me by other people. But their opinion had less weight with me; they had not given their country so many pledges for the future. Now I give you my word that your opinion has the very greatest influence with me, since it holds out a way of keeping all that I have in the present and recovering everything in the future. But look at this: what can be more wretched than that one man should be reaping applause in the basest of causes, another in the noblest only odium: that one should be looked on as the preserver of his enemies, the other as the betrayer of his friends! And, upon my honour, with all the love for my friend Pompeius that I ought to and do feel, I cannot possibly approve of his refusing to help such men as this. For if he was afraid—what could be more ignoble? if, as certain people fancy, he believed his cause would be all the stronger if they were massacred—what could be more iniquitous? But let us say no more of this; we only increase our pain by handling the wound afresh.

4 On the evening of the 24th the younger Balbus came to me, while hastening on a secret mission from Caesar to reach the consul Lentulus, with a letter and private instructions (including the promise of a province) on condition that he would return to Rome. I do not think it will be possible to persuade him unless they can get an interview together. He assured me too that there was nothing Caesar wanted more than to overtake Pompeius (that I can quite believe), and

come to a reconciliation with him; which I do not believe, and am afraid that all these examples of moderation are being used to pave the way for the crowning act of atrocity. It is true that the elder Balbus writes to me that Caesar wants nothing more than to live in peace and quiet with Pompeius as the first citizen of the state. This (of course) you think probable! But even now (the 25th), while I am writing, Pompeius may have got to Brundisium; for on the 19th he had already started in light marching order before the legions from Luceria. But oh, the terrible watchfulness, activity, and resolution of this terrible Chimera! I am utterly at a loss to know what is coming.

LVI. (AD ATT. VIII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 27, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

As to the anxiety of mind you suppose me to be suffering 1 from, I am so, it is true, but not so much as you perhaps imagine: trouble is always lighter when one's resolution is fixed, or when brooding over it does no good. We are still however allowed to lament, and this, in spite of what I said, fills up my days; though I fear that while gaining nothing by it at all I may at the same time be discrediting myself as a scholar and a philosopher. So I am spending all my time in reflecting what force of character there is in the ideal statesman, whom I have portrayed with some accuracy—at least you tell me so—in my book. Do you remember then there what I would have the guardian of the State take as his universal standard? Because these are the words (in my fifth book, I think) which are put into the mouth of Scipio:—

'For just as the pilot's aim is a favourable voyage, the physician's health, the general's victory, so is the happiness of his countrymen to our Ruler of the State: that they may live secure in their possessions, rich in all resources, full of honours, and ennobled by virtue. This is the work I would have him accomplish, even the greatest and best of services to mankind.'

2 Now at no time has our friend Pompeius set this consideration before him, least of all in the present dispute. Both have been seeking for absolute power: it has not been their aim to make the State happy and virtuous. Nor in truth did he leave Rome because he despaired of defending it, nor yet Italy because he was forced out of her, but from the very first this was his intention, to leave no land or sea unransacked, to arouse the passions of barbarous kings, to bring whole nations of armed savages into Italy, and get immense armies together. Such a reproduction of Sulla's tyranny he has long been hankering after, and there are many with him who want to see it. Do you think they have no common ground, that no conditions could have been made between them? There might this very day, only that our happiness does not enter into the *visée* of either; each wants to be despot.

3 These views I have propounded briefly at your request, since you wanted me to give my opinion about our present troubles. So I warn you *d'avance*, my dear friend, though I am in no fine frenzy, like the maid whom nobody believed, but merely guessing according to my lights, of something now 'far o'er the main'.¹ Yes, I cannot but prophesy much in her strain: so big with woes is the mournful 'tale of Troy' now hanging over our heads.

There is this too which makes our case who stopped at home worse than theirs who went in a body across the seas, that while they have only one of the combatants to dread, we
4 have both. Why did we stop behind then? Perhaps because we took your advice, or perhaps because we never fell in with

¹ Cicero is alluding to a wild prophecy by Cassandra of the fall of Troy in Ennius's play 'Alexander,' which is given more at length in *De Div.* i. 31. It may be thus rendered:—

'Grows a fleet far o'er the main,
Myriad horrors fill her train!
Lo, they come—along the shore
White-winged ships fierce hosts shall pour.'

the others, or this was the better course. You will see, I assure you, this very next summer unhappy Italy trodden under foot by slaves raked together on both sides from every species under the sun. Nor is a proscription, which is said to have been talked of by so many people at Luceria, so much to be dreaded as utter extermination: so crushing, I see, will be the force exerted on both sides. Here you have my prediction. Perhaps however you have been looking for a little bit of consolation. I do not see my way to any: we could not possibly be more wretched, more utterly lost, more disgraced than we are.

As to your question why Caesar has written to me, it is 5 the usual thing—that my remaining neutral is a great obligation to him personally, and he begs that I will steadily adhere to it. Balbus the younger gives the same injunctions. What he was on his way for was to convey a letter from Caesar to Lentulus the consul, with a promise of rewards if he would turn back to Rome. But in fact, on reckoning the days, I rather think he will cross over here before a meeting can possibly occur. I wanted you to notice the indifference 6 shown in these two letters I had from Pompeius, and the care I myself took in replying, and have sent you copies of both. I am watching for the effect of this forced march 7 of Caesar's on Brundisium by way of Apulia. May it be like a chapter of Parthian history! As soon as I have heard anything to speak of I will write to you, and I expect from you what the good kind people are saying. I am told there are a great many of them at Rome. Of course I know that you do not go into public, but still you cannot help hearing a good deal. I remember your receiving a book called 'De Concordia,' that was sent you, [I know], by Demetrius of Magnesia. This I should be much obliged if you would let me have. You see what is the part I am conning.

LVII. (AD ATT. VIII. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 1, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 Let my use of an amanuensis be a sign of the weakness in my eyes, and a reason too for the shortness of my letter: though indeed at present there is nothing to write about; I am simply looking for the news from Brundisium. Supposing their chief has succeeded in overtaking ours, then there is a faint hope of peace; but if he finds that Pompeius had already crossed, there is danger of a bloody war. But do you appreciate the man into whose hands the country has fallen—how lynx-eyed he is, how watchful, how ready? Upon my word if it should prove that he has put nobody to death, and has not taken a single thing from anybody, he will be intensely popular with the very people who before had dreaded him
- 2 most. I have a good deal of talk with the people of the country-towns and with the small farmers: they care for absolutely nothing but their fields, their farm-houses, or their paltry savings. And see how the conditions are reversed: they dread the man they formerly trusted, while they love the one they used to fear. I cannot but bitterly reflect what follies and crimes ours must have been to bring us to this. As to what I believe is coming I have written to you, and am now awaiting your answer.

LVIII. (AD ATT. VIII. 15 A.)

FROM THE ELDER BALBUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

About March 1, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Lucius Cornelius Balbus the elder was a native of Gades who had received the gift of Roman citizenship from Pompeius, which was defended by Cicero in the extant speech 'Pro Balbo.' He had been much trusted by the triumvirs, and was now Caesar's financial agent at Rome. The adhesion of Cicero, diplomatically suggested under the guise of mediation, would at this period have been valuable, since a course that he was known to take would probably be followed by nearly all the waverers. Balbus is referred to in Letters xxxiii. 2;

xliv. 6; lxxxv. 2. His nephew and namesake mentioned in the last sentence of the letter is spoken of also in lv. 4; lxxxii. 1.

Abeken, p. 293; Forsyth, p. 368; Froude, Caesar, p. 362; and compare Letter lx.

My dear Cicero,

I earnestly commend a charge to you—a scheme well 1
worthy of your noble character, for bringing back Caesar
and Pompeius, estranged as they have been by the machina-
tions of others, to their former harmony. Believe me, Caesar
will not only place himself entirely under your directions,
but will consider himself indebted to you for a very great
kindness if you throw your weight into this scale. I should
like to see Pompeius do the same, but, as times are, I rather
wish than hope to see him consent to any terms at all. Once
let him stop however and shake off his present panic, and
then I shall begin not to despair of your authority out-
weighing other considerations with him.

Your wish that my friend Lentulus [the consul] would 2
remain in this country was gratifying to Caesar, while to
myself, upon my word, it was more than gratifying, since
I esteem him so highly that Caesar himself is not more dear
to me. If he had only permitted me to converse with him
as of old, and not turned his back on my overtures again and
again, I should be less wretched than I am. I entreat you
not to think that anybody can possibly suffer more than I do
at seeing one whom I love better than myself in the position
of a consul, but anything rather than a consul in reality.
Should he however once consent to be guided by you and
take my guarantee for Caesar, and to complete his period of
office at Rome, I shall begin to hope that with the sanction of
the Senate itself, when it has you to support the question and
Lentulus to put it to the house, some harmonious agreement
may yet be made between Pompeius and Caesar. This once
accomplished I shall consider that my life's work is done.

I know you will entirely approve of Caesar's way of 3
dealing with Corfinium, for circumstances being what they

were, nothing better could fall out than that the affair should end without bloodshed. I am very glad to hear that you were pleased that your friend, my nephew Balbus, called upon you. Whatever he has pledged himself to you for on Caesar's behalf, and whatever Caesar's letters have promised, I am quite confident that he has written in perfect sincerity; and so his acts will prove to you, whatever be the turn his fortunes take.

LIX. (AD ATT. VIII. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 4, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 I have got everything ready except some safe and secret road that will take me to the Adriatic, because one cannot venture upon these waters at this time of year. But how am I to get to the place where my feeling inclines and where my duty calls me? Still go I must, and quickly, lest some ill chance should hinder me and tie my hands. It is true I am not attracted thus by the man himself, as is supposed; for I find him now to be as *mauvais général* among generals as I knew him long ago to be *mauvais politique* among statesmen. It is not he therefore who is the inducement, but the talk of people about which I hear from Philotimus, who tells me I am much 'cut up' now by the 'nobles.' Nobles indeed! Good heavens! look how they are hastening out in processions; look how to Caesar they all have their price. To the country-towns indeed he is really divine: none of the hypocrisy with which they used to offer prayers for his rival during his illness. The fact is, that any violent act our modern Peisistratus¹ is thought to have abstained from doing gives as much pleasure as if he had stopped somebody else from doing it: he, they hope, may prove benignant; his rival they fancy

¹ Peisistratus was the accepted type of a benevolent monarch, which character Caesar had now established, as Phalaris was of a cruel one.

in a furious passion. Do you take into account what an *accueil* he gets from the crowd out of every town? What of these honours? All fear, you will say. Just so, but then I give you my word it is rather of his antagonist: they are charmed with the artful moderation of one; they shudder at the violence of the other. Those who are on the jury-list of the three hundred and fifty, and used to be the chief admirers of our Pompeius, are now (I see one or other of them every day) horrified at something or other of his Lucerian proceedings²; and so, I ask, who are your 'nobles' that they should try to drive me out from Italy while they themselves stop at home? But still, be they what they may,

'Ne mihi Pulydamas et Troiades—³'

Yet I see clearly all that I can hope for if I do start; and I am casting in my lot with one who is not so much prepared for conquest as for laying Italy waste—in a word⁴, who will be all I take him to be. Indeed, while penning these lines on the 4th, I am expecting news from Brundisium. News indeed! It will be how he had disgraced himself by running away from there, and by what road or in what direction his conqueror is returning. When I have ascertained this, if he comes by the Appian road, I think I shall to Arpinum.

LX. (AD ATT. IX. 6 A.)

FROM JULIUS CAESAR AT BRUNDISIUM TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

Early in March, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

I barely caught sight of our friend Furnius, and was not able to talk to him or hear his news without inconvenience to

² This must mean, if anything, the proscription which had been talked of at Luceria. See Letter lvi. 4. But the expression is a very strange one.

³ Persius, i. 4; which is an allusion to the line of Homer (Il. vi. 442; xxii. 105) quoted by Cicero. He means that he cannot face the sneers of his party, however he may despise its members.

⁴ *Demum* is the simplest and not improbable correction of *domum*.

myself, being, as I am, in a great hurry, indeed actually on the march, and with my troops already gone on in advance. I could not however let the opportunity pass of writing you a letter and getting him to convey it, and with it my thanks; though I have done this already many times, and it seems to me I shall have to do so many times more, so well do you deserve this from me. I must particularly request that, since I trust shortly to come to the neighbourhood of Rome, I may see you there to avail myself of your judgment, your influence, your position, and your assistance in all that concerns me. To return to the point¹: excuse this hurry and the shortness of my letter: anything further you will be able to hear from Furnius.

LXI. (AD ATT. IX. 7.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 13, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 I had written a letter to you to be sent on the 12th, but the person to whom I intended to entrust it did not start that day. However, on that very same day came the messenger 'with flying feet' (that was Salvius's description of him to me), and brought your very full letter, which infused into me, so to speak, some 'fleeting drops of life;' for absolutely restored I cannot say I am. But still what you have done for me is certainly not a mere *pis aller*; for, believe me, my one object no longer now is to secure a happy ending, since I see it is the fact that, whether both of them survive or only the one, we shall never again have a Republican constitution. Therefore I neither indulge in any visions of a quiet life for ourselves, nor struggle against

¹ Compare Letter cv *ad fn.*, where 'ad propositum' is used in the same sense, and Long's note on this passage in his small Selection of the Letters. Boot however renders 'I will return to this subject hereafter,' and Hofmann 'I will now return to the work I have in hand.' Mr. Watson follows Boot here, whereas in Letter cv he renders it 'to resume.'

any measures however harsh. The one thing I used to be much afraid of was lest I should commit, or, perhaps I should say, had already committed anything unworthy. So you may be sure that the letters you sent did me good, not only this longer one, which could not possibly be more explicit or more complete, but also your shorter one. Nothing gave me more delight in the latter than that my conduct and its motive met with the approval of Sextus Peducaeus: and it is a real pleasure to me that I owe this to you, of whose affection and keen sense of honour I am always sure. But your longer letter relieved not only me but all my friends from anxiety; so I will take your advice and stop in my house at Formiae, lest on the one hand my joining in giving him an *accueil* anywhere near town should attract attention, or on the other my not seeing him either here or there should make him think I purposely avoided him. As to your advice that I should ask him to allow me to show that regard for Pompeius which I have already done for himself, you will find from the letter of Balbus and Oppius (of which I send a copy) that that has long been my object. I enclose also Caesar's letter to them, which is written in a sane enough spirit, at least considering his insane career. But if Caesar will not make me this concession, I see what you would like is that I should try to bring about some *pour-parlers* to forward a peace. Well, I am not much afraid of the risk—when there are so many of them hanging over our heads why should I not compound by taking the most respectable?—but I am afraid of laying any load on Pompeius—lest I should see his angry brow bent upon me '*effulgens Gorgone saeva*'.¹ It is indeed perfectly astonishing

¹ Aen. ii. 616. The line of Homer (Odys. xi. 634) refers to the fear of Odysseus lest Pallas should send some terrible spectre to meet his gaze; and this is—rather too magniloquently—applied by Cicero to his own fear of the angry look of Pompeius if interfered with. Tennyson however has in Maud almost naturalised a similar phrase:—

'Gorgonised me from head to foot
With a stony British stare.'

how our friend has set his heart on a despotism modelled on Sulla's—*je parle à bon escient*. He was never more open about anything. 'Is this the man then,' you will say, 'you would range yourself with?' Believe me, it is his past kindness, not his cause that leads me on; as it
4 was with Milo, and with—but I'll say no more. Is his cause then not good? Good! it is the best of causes, but it will be advanced, mind you, by the foulest means. His first object is to strangle Rome and Italy by the clutch of famine; then to waste and fire the country, and not to keep his hand from plundering rich people: but as I fear just the same from this side too, if I did not feel I owed a service to him, I should think it better to bear at home whatever might happen. But I hold that he has deserved so well of me that I dare not risk being thought an *ingrat*; though, for that matter, you have offered a fair defence even of that.

5 About my triumph I agree with you: indeed you will find I have freely and fully given up all thoughts of it. I like your idea very much indeed, that while we are moving about, a good time for starting '*avec vent et marée*' may come almost without our knowing it. If only, you say, he prove firm enough! As to firmness, he has more than even we expected: on that point you may be easy. I promise you, if he is to get the upper hand, he will not leave a single tile on a roof in Italy. And shall I then be found on his side? Yes, upon my word, it is against my own better judgment and against the examples of history that I want to go, and not so much to help what is done on his side, as to avoid seeing what is done on this; for you must not dream that you will be able to put up with the mad passions of this party, or that they will take one form only. Though indeed can you possibly fail to see, that with law, and justice, and the Senate alike swept away, neither private nor public resources can be enough for the cravings and the license, the profusion and the neediness of so many of the neediest of mankind? So let us away by any passage we can get, though

that indeed shall be left to you, but anyhow let us away, because we shall know by then what you are waiting for now, how matters have ended at Brundisium.

I am exceedingly glad (if one can talk of gladness now-⁶ a-days) that men who are on the right side approve, as you say they do, of the way I have acted hitherto, and that they know I have not left the country. I will enquire more closely about Lentulus's views: this duty I entrusted to Philotimus, a bold man, and an ultra aristocrat.

Lastly, if, as may be, you are at a loss for something to ⁷ write about—for one could not possibly write at the present time on any other theme, and what more can now be elicited on this?—still as you have ample talents for the purpose (upon my word I say what I really mean), as well as an affection which I too find gives a stimulus to my talents, go on as you are doing and write as much as ever you can. I am rather hurt that you do not ask me to come to Epirus; I am not a bad companion. But I must say good-bye: just as you have to take exercise, or go to be rubbed down by the bathman, so I have now to go to bed: indeed it is your letter which has given me any hope of sleep.

LXII. (AD ATT. IX. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 17, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

On the 16th of this month I received three letters from you, ¹ which were dated the 12th, 13th, and 14th, so I will answer them all in order of seniority. I agree with you that I had best stop where I am in my house at Formiae, and also about the Adriatic; and I will try, as I said in my letter before, whether by any possible means I can get leave from him not to move a finger in political questions. You praise me for telling you that I put out of mind the old doings and demerits of our friend: which is literally the case with me. Even the instances you refer to of his dealing hardly by me I cannot

recall; so anxious am I to let my recollection of kindnesses outweigh my resentment of injuries. Let me do therefore as you advise, and pull myself together; for as soon as ever I begin going about the country *je fais le philosophe*, and as I go I cannot give up thinking over my '*theses*'; but there are some of these which are extremely difficult to determine. As to our nobles, let us say by all means that your view is correct, but you know the Greek proverb about Dionysius at Corinth¹. Titinius's son is to be found with Caesar. As to your little pretence of being afraid, that your advice might not be very welcome to me, the truth is that the only pleasure I have is in your counsel and your letters. So put your professions into practice: never forget to write to me whatever comes into your head: nothing can possibly give me more pleasure.

- 2 Now I come to the second letter. You are quite right in being incredulous about the number of soldiers; Clodia's letter puts it too high by just one-half. It is false too about the ships having been disabled. As for your praise of the consuls, I myself admire their intentions, but do not think much of their judgment, because their departure has swept away all chance of negotiating for peace, which is what I was projecting. After this, therefore, I have returned your Demetrius on 'The Blessings of Peace,' and have entrusted

¹ Compare Tusc. Disp. iii. 12. 27: '*Est autem impudens luctus maerore se conficientis, quod imperare non liceat liberis. Dionysius quidem tyrannus, Syracusis expulsus, Corinthi pueros docebat; usque eo imperio carere non poterat.*' Mr. Watson, taking the saying as proverbial of the inconstancy of fortune, suggests that the meaning is, 'But if Caesar were to fail, what would the optimates then say?' But the passage italicised seems absolutely to determine Cicero's application of the proverb to a *lust for power under any circumstances*. The precise application must necessarily be more or less uncertain without the letter of Atticus which is here commented on; but at least Cicero seems to mean, 'I do not dispute your view of the probable action of the nobles; but remember that what they intend is in any case power for themselves.' The Dionysius referred to is the younger one, who was expelled from Syracuse by Timoleon. The story seems to have been well known, and is frequently quoted. Compare Letter lxxxvii. § 1, where Cicero jokingly applies it to his own instruction of Hirtius and Dolabella in rhetoric.

it to the care of Philotimus; nor do I feel any doubt in fact but that a bloody war is impending, of which the opening scene will be a famine. Yet this is the war in which I sigh that I have no part! a war in which the mass of iniquity will be so vast that while it is an abominable crime to neglect the support of our parents, our leaders think they must murder by starvation that most aged and venerable of all parents—the Fatherland. Moreover, my fears are not founded on mere conjecture; on the contrary, I was present at their discussions. All this fleet of ours—from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, and Cos—is now being drawn together for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of Italy and seizing on our corn-growing provinces. Then what a rage he will come in—especially with those whose real wishes were for his safety, as though the people had left him whom he himself left behind! And so while I am in doubt what is the right thing for me to do, my liking for him is a heavy weight in the scale: take that indeed away, and it would be better to die in one's fatherland, than overthrow one's fatherland by trying to save it.

That is quite true about the North: Epirus, I fear, may be overrun. But what spot in Greece do you suppose will not be plundered? For he openly professes and holds out the expectation to his soldiers that even in the bounties to be given he will outstrip his rival. This is an excellent hint of yours, not to show too much deference when it comes to an interview between myself and him, but rather to speak as one in authority. That is undoubtedly what one ought to do. I think I shall to Arpinum, that is when our meeting is over, so that I may not be absent by any chance when he arrives, nor on the other hand have to be running backwards and forwards on such an abominable road. I hear that Bibulus arrived as you mention, and that he started off again on the 14th.

3 Your third letter tells me you were expecting Philotimus, whereas he only left me on the 15th, and that is the reason why my answer to your letter, to which I replied immediately, is late in coming to hand. As to Ahenobarbus it is, I think, as you say: he is on his estate at Cosa, and his intentions there are a secret². That basest and most abject of human beings, who asserts that a praetor has the right to hold an election of consuls, is only true to his invariable character in politics³. And so of course here we have the meaning of what Caesar says in the letter of which I sent you a copy⁴: that he wanted to avail himself of my 'judgment'—well, let that pass; so far it is only a conventional expression: my 'influence'—that is ridiculous, but I suppose he is making a pretence of this to catch certain votes in the Senate: my 'position'—no doubt he wants the support of one who has been a consul: and, to wind up all, 'my assistance in all that concerned him.' After your letter I began to suspect that here we had the real explanation, or something very like it. For it is of the greatest importance to him that there should be no interregnum; now if a consul can be declared elected by a praetor he gains his point. We however find in our Statutes not only that a praetor cannot declare a consul elected, but that even for praetors such an election is illegal, and has no precedent. In the case of consuls it is forbidden because it is declared 'illegal' for a higher office to depend for its institution on a lower one; while with praetors it is because they are elected solely to be the colleagues of the consuls, who hold the higher office.

² He was really equipping a small fleet at Cosa in order to occupy Marseilles. See Introduction to Letter lxxvi; Merivale, ii. p. 172.

³ This ferocious onslaught probably refers to Marcus Lepidus, afterwards a member of the second triumvirate; since he, being one of the praetors for this year, could, if the point were established that a praetor might in the absence of the consuls (who were now in Epirus) assume their functions, render an important service to Caesar by holding a legal election for the consulship. See Merivale, ii. p. 225. The constitutional difficulty was eventually solved by Caesar's being made dictator, and presiding at the election in that capacity.

⁴ This refers to Letter lx.

He will go far towards pressing even me to sanction what he wants, and will not be satisfied with having Galba and Scaevola, and Cassius and Antonius.

'Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat⁵.'

But you see what a storm is hanging overhead.

I will let you know the names of those members of the 4 Senate who have crossed the sea as soon as I have certain information. You are perfectly right about the commissariat. It cannot possibly be served without regular supplies of money; nor are your fears without reason both of the insatiable demands of those men who now have our general's ear, and of an iniquitous war. I should certainly like to see our good friend Trebatius all the same, even though he is, you tell me, quite despondent. Be sure and press him to make haste; because it will be very convenient if he has paid me his visit before Caesar comes.

As to your purchase at Lanuvium, I had no sooner heard that Phamea was dead than I wished (supposing we were to be a free country at all) that it might fall to one of my friends; and yet somehow I never even thought of you my nearest one; because I had seen your cipher ⁶ at Delos as well as at Rome, and I knew your idea is generally to inquire in how many years a place will begin to pay, and what is the value of the whole stock. Still this estate, pretty as it is, I for my part think less of now than I used to think in the days when Marcellinus was consul, when I used to fancy that those very grounds of yours would, considering that I had a house at Antium, give me more pleasure and come to less expense than if I had been able to rebuild my house at Tusculum. I offered £4500⁷, and negotiated with a surety

⁵ Aen. iv. 24, which is a rendering of the line quoted by Cicero, *Iliad* iv. 182.

⁶ The general explanation of 'digamma' is that it represents F. for 'fenus' = interest, or 'fundi' = estate, and so is virtually equivalent to 'ledger' or 'rent-roll.' Boot remarks that he can see clearly enough what to avoid (namely all explanations that have been suggested), but cannot see what to accept.

⁷ Adopting the reading HS.Q. (= 500,000 sesterces) for N.S.Q. But the whole passage is not only obscure but suspicious. Boot points out that

to pay the money over, as the landlord was then offering it for sale at Antium; which he refused. But all this class of property is now, I suppose, a drug in the market, owing to the tightness of money. Certainly it will be very convenient for me, or rather for both of us, when you have bought it. But mind you do not make too little of his insane hobbies: it is an extremely pretty place. All such ones however seem to me as if they were already under sentence of devastation. I have now answered your three letters, but I am hoping for more, for your letters have hitherto been my support. To-day is the feast of Bacchus⁸.

LXIII. (AD ATT. IX. 10.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 18, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

At last Pompeius quitted Italy, to which he never again returned. The great rendezvous was fixed at Thessalonica. The consuls with the larger half of the army, which was about 30,000 in all, had sailed for Dyrrachium on the 4th of March; on the 9th Caesar arrived before the town and began a siege. He attempted to close the mouth of the harbour also by moles and a floating bridge, but Pompeius skilfully succeeded in keeping it open until the transports returned from Greece on the 17th, when, in spite of the hostility of the town, he withdrew all but two vessels safely, and sailed for Dyrrachium.

It must be at once obvious that this immediate throwing down of the cards was no panic-stricken flight from Italy, as Cicero usually represents it; but part of a deep-laid scheme, which (see § 6 of this letter) he himself admits to have been fully resolved on two years before. To explain this, at first sight, strange conduct we must remember that in the East the influence of Pompeius, called the 'king of kings,' was still paramount, while Caesar there was all but unknown. Now a victory over Caesar in Italy would mean a victory for the Senate and the haughty nobles, who by no means intended to leave supreme power in the hands of Pompeius. Compare Letter lxii. note 1. Only out of Italy would it mean a triumph over the Senate also, and leave Pompeius supreme in the Republic. Mommsen asserts (iv. 2. 382) that his intention had been—as was certainly the general belief at the time—to go to Spain, where he had a strong army under Varro, Afranius, and Petreius; but that

besides the strange construction 'egi daret,' a surety could hardly be required when no bargain was made.

⁸ The festival of the Liberalia was on March 17. 'Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho.' Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 713.

the rapidity of Caesar prevented his embarking from Campania instead of Brundisium. But this leaves no adequate explanation why, being master of the sea, he should still not have reverted to this plan, and it is perhaps more probable that he intended from the first to select Greece as the theatre of the war. See on the whole subject an important passage of Merivale, ii. pp. 150-163; and Mommsen, iv. 2. 376-383.

An enumeration of the relative forces will be found in Mommsen, iv. 2. 363-372, 400-402; Merivale, ii. 239-243; and Mr. Watson, Appendix vii.

I have no reason at all for writing, not having heard any 1 news, and having answered all your letters yesterday; but since my anxiety not only deprives me of sleep, but will not even be satisfied with keeping me awake unless it is in utter wretchedness, I have determined to write something to you, even without anything particular to say, in order to keep up as it were the conversation with you, that being the only thing which tranquillises me. I seem to myself to have 2 acted like a madman from the first; and the one thing which tortures me is that I did not follow Pompeius, when by every one of his acts he was drifting—or rather rushing—to ruin, just as if I had been one of the rank and file. When I saw him on the 17th of January he was a panic-stricken man; and that very day I felt sure what was his intention. Since that time he has never had my approval, nor has he once ceased adding blunder to blunder. Meanwhile not a letter to me—not a thought of anything beyond flight! Well, just as *entre amoureux* any want of delicacy, or intelligence, or modesty in the lady is disenchanting, so the ugly look of his running away without caring about me put a stop to my affection; for he never acted in a way to deserve that I should make myself a partner of his flight. At the present time my affection is coming again to the surface; I cannot just now endure our separation. As to my books, my studies, my philosophy, they have nothing that will do me any good now. For whole days and nights, like the bird we read of¹, I gaze at the sea,

¹ 'After this then Dionysius and I lived there (at Syracuse): I meanwhile, like a bird, with far-off gaze, longing for the opportunity to fly away.' Plato, Ep. vii. 348 A.

longing to fly away. It is a penalty: yes, I am paying the penalty of my rash confidence. Yet where was the rashness in it? What did I ever do without the fullest deliberation? Had there been no object behind that of escaping, of course I would have escaped with the greatest pleasure; but it was a war on the most cruel and extensive scale (the real meaning of this is just what people even yet do not see) which horrified me. What threats those were against the country-towns—against really worthy individual citizens—even against all who should be found to have stayed behind! How the phrase recurred: ‘Sulla succeeded, shall not I succeed?’ Then again I could not get rid of such thoughts as these. Tarquinius acted badly when he appealed to Porsena and to Octavius Mamilius against his own country; Coriolanus very wickedly when he entreated aid from the Volscians; Themistocles virtuously when he chose death in preference. Hippas, the son of Peisistratus, who fell at the battle of Marathon actually in arms against his country, was a foul traitor. But surely Sulla, and Cinna, and Marius acted in the right way? Well, let us say rather, perhaps, that they were right in their principle², but what could be more savage, what more deadly than the way their triumph was carried out? It was the essential character of this war I shrank from, and all the more because I saw that even worse atrocities were being planned and prepared. Was I to bring up Thracian, Armenian, and Colchian hordes against yonder city of which not a few have called me ‘preserver’ and ‘father’? Was I to bring famine

² Mr. Watson, though he adopts Boot's punctuation, makes ‘recte’ = ‘utiliter,’ and ‘immo iure fortasse’ = ‘perhaps they even had right on their side,’ which is also Metzger's rendering. Orelli and Matthiae put the full stop after ‘fortasse,’ which seems to imply a similar interpretation. But this is a very unusual meaning to give to ‘recte,’ which, as Boot and Manutius argue, must convey stronger approbation than ‘iure,’ the latter not necessarily implying any more than a legal or technical right. Cicero's argument seems to me to be that Sulla, Cinna, and Marius were right in the principle of not appealing to foreign invaders against their own country, but that their atrocious use of their triumph forbids us to give them unqualified approbation.

on my own countrymen, desolation on Italy? As for the man himself³, I reflected, to begin with, that he must be mortal, and then moreover that there were various ways in which he might possibly be cut off at once, while I held that it was my duty, as far as in me lay, to preserve our city and nation so long as the world shall last. At the same time no doubt I was flattered by a faint hope that some basis of agreement would surely be found before the one would proceed to such a crime, the other to such cruel enormities. The whole scene is now changed, and with it my own feeling is changed: it seems, in the expression of one of your letters, as though for me the sun had fallen out of the sky. But as we say of sick people, 'while there is life there is hope'; and so as long as Pompeius was in Italy I never gave up hoping. This is the point where I was deceived; while—to be quite candid—my age declining from the toils of day towards its rest suggested the softer thoughts of the pleasures of a home. Now, although the attempt be dangerous, I shall certainly make it, and fly away from this spot. Perhaps it should have been before, but all that I have just been telling you kept me back, and so above all did your advice. For after writing thus far I⁴ have opened a packet of your letters, which I keep under seal, and guard most carefully. Well, in the one you wrote on the 21st of January I find as follows: 'Let us however look 'as much at what Pompeius intends, as at the drift of his 'rival's policy; but if the former decides on abandoning 'Italy, he will certainly be acting wrongly, and, in my own 'opinion, like a downright *insensé*; however it will only be 'when that occurs that we shall have to upset our own plans.' The date of this letter is four days after I left the neighbourhood of Rome. Next comes, on the 23rd of January: 'Provided only that our friend Pompeius does not abandon Italy,

³ This is sometimes referred to Caesar (e.g. by Mr. Froude, Caesar, pp. 365, 436), but probably better to Pompeius. Cicero then means that one's country has higher claims than a friend, inasmuch as the friend may die, while one's country cannot.

‘just as he, *insensé qu’il était*, abandoned the capital.’ On the very same day you write a second letter, which answers my questions very explicitly, running as follows: ‘To turn to the point about which you have consulted me—supposing Pompeius does quit Italy, you ought, I think, to return to Rome, because what is to be the limit of your travelling from place to place?’ This made a distinct impression on me, and the light in which I now look at it is this—I have an interminable war, coupled with a hopeless flight, which you

5 —*par adoucissement*—call ‘travelling.’ Then on the 27th comes this *pronostic*. ‘For my part, if Pompeius stops in Italy, and matters do not come to some settlement, I think the war will be somewhat protracted; but if he leaves Italy, I am of opinion that they are paving the way for a war à *outrance* which will come later on.’ And this then is the war of which I am driven into becoming, not the mere partaker, but the counsellor and instrument—admitted to be a war à *outrance*, and against my own countrymen! Then on the 7th of February, when more information about Pompeius’s policy was now reaching you, you end one of your letters as follows: ‘I at any rate could not advise you if Pompeius quits Italy to follow his flight; there will be the greatest risk in so doing, nor will you be serving the interests of our country, which is just what you will have an opportunity of doing hereafter if you stay behind.’ Show me the man—*patriote* or *politique*—who would not be moved by such advice, coming with the authority of a man so sagacious, and a friend so true.

6 Next in order, on the 11th of February, you again answer my question thus: ‘When you ask me whether I consider that it will be more to your interest loyally to take flight, or to linger on doing nothing, I am decidedly of opinion that a sudden departure and a precipitate movement is at the present time as inadvisable and dangerous for Pompeius himself as it is for you; and in my opinion it will be wiser for you to be separated and in some post of observation. But, upon my word, I think it is quite a disgrace to us even to

'entertain the question of flight.' Disgrace! this is what our friend has contemplated for the last two years; so much is it the desire of his heart to be a second Sulla, and indulge in a proscription. This is the reason probably why, when I fancied from some expression in a letter—perhaps *un peu vague*—that you had been giving me something of a hint to leave Italy, you are so careful to enter a protest on the 19th of February: 'I certainly never once have hinted in any letter that, supposing Pompeius does leave Italy, you ought to go with him; or if I did so hint, I was, I will not say inconsistent with my own mind, but quite out of it.' Another passage from the same letter: 'There is nothing left but flight, which I think, and always have thought, you ought under no circumstances to take part in.' Then you discuss the whole question in a more elaborate letter dated February 22: 'If Manius Lepidus and Lucius Volcatius stop behind I think it will be right to stop, with the condition that, if Pompeius escapes and makes a stand any where, you should leave this ghastly Inferno⁴ behind, and consent more readily to be defeated in battle with him than to sit on a throne with his rival, in the midst of such a sink of iniquity as we all know must come.' After giving various arguments tending to this conclusion, you add at the end: 'But what if Lepidus and Volcatius take their departure? Frankly then, *je n'y vois goutte*. So whatever is the result, and however it turns out that you have acted, *il faudra m'y faire*.' Even if you had had any doubts then, surely you have none now when they are still here. The next is at the very time of his flight, Feb. 25: 8 'Meanwhile I have no doubt you will stay in your own house at Formiae, because that will be for you the most convenient place *pour épier les événements*.' On the 1st of March, when he had now been four days at Brundisium: 'Then we shall be able to consider the question, not of course as if you had

⁴ A 'hellish troop' (Parry) or 'troop of shadows' (Merivale); in allusion to the lean and hungry ghosts (Odys. xi) who flocked around Odysseus to drink the blood. The phrase is quoted and approved in Letter lxvii. § 2.

'all your plans intact, but certainly with fewer of them broken 'up than if you were to join him in his leap in the dark.' Again, on the 4th of March, though your letter, being written in immediate expectation of the *accès* of your illness⁵, is but brief, you say: 'To-morrow I will write more 'at length, and answer everything; still I must just say this, 'that I do not repent of my advice to you to stay; and though 'that involves great anxiety, still, holding that it has less 'disadvantages than your proposed departure, I abide by my
9 'opinion, and am glad that you have stayed behind.' So again when I was beginning to be tormented with the fear that I might have exposed myself to discreditable imputations: 'Still I am far from dissatisfied that you are not with 'Pompeius. It will give no difficulty hereafter if the necessity has arisen, and to him whenever that comes you are sure 'to be *bienvenu*. But when I say this it is with the reservation that if his rival goes on for the future like the beginning 'he has made, of acting with good faith, moderation, and 'prudence, I shall have to make a thorough investigation,
10 'and consider more closely what our interests advise.' On the 9th of March you write that our friend Peducaeus, whose authority has great weight with me, 'also approves of my having remained quiet.' By these letters of yours I can console myself into thinking that I have as yet taken no false step. Only you must defend the advice you yourself have given; against attack from me there is no such need, but I want other people to be aware of it. For myself, if I have made no slip hitherto, I will be on my guard for the future. Do you rouse yourself to play the part I described, and above all help me with the result of your reflections.

There is no news here as yet about Caesar's return. After all I have gained something by this letter: I have read all yours through, and by so doing have tranquillised myself.

⁵ Compare Letter xlv. § 3.

LXIV. (AD ATT. IX. 11 A.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO JULIUS CAESAR AT BRUNDISIUM.

March 18 (?), 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Written in answer to Letter lx, but since expressions from it are quoted and defended in Letter lv, there must be some confusion of date: for which see Introduction to the latter. On other attempts made at this period to secure Cicero's adhesion, or at least his neutrality, see Letter lviii, and Abeken, p. 293.

Upon reading your letter—which I received through our 1 friend Furnius—requesting me to stay somewhere within reach of town, I was not so much surprised at your expressing a wish to avail yourself of my ‘judgment’ and my ‘position:’ of the meaning you intended to convey by my ‘influence and assistance’ I was in some doubt. Hope however led me to the following interpretation. I concluded that—as might be expected from one of your admirable, indeed pre-eminent wisdom—you were anxious that negotiations should be opened on behalf of the tranquillity, peace, and union of our countrymen; for which purpose I could not but reflect that both by my nature and the part I have played I was well enough suited. If this be really the case, and if you 2 feel any desire at all to show due consideration for my friend Pompeius, and bring him into harmony once more both with yourself and with the Republic, you will assuredly find no one better fitted for that task than I am; who have ever given pacific counsels to him, and equally so in my place in the Senate so soon as I found an opportunity. Nor since the appeal to arms have I taken the smallest part in this war; the war being indeed in my judgment a wrong done to yourself, against whose rightful privileges, granted by special favour of the Roman people, the attacks of spitefulness and jealousy were being directed. But just as at that time I not only personally supported your rightful position, but counselled

everybody else to lend you their assistance, so now it is the rights of Pompeius for which I am deeply concerned; because it is now several years since I first selected you two to be the objects of my warmest devotion, and with whom to be united, ³ as I now am, in ties of the closest friendship. Consequently I have this request to make—say rather I implore and beseech you with every plea that I can use—even among your weighty anxieties to allot some time to this consideration also, how I may be allowed by your kind indulgence to show myself an honest man; one in short who is grateful and affectionate from the recollection of a very great kindness he once received. Even if this concerned me alone, I should still flatter myself that to me you would grant it; but in my opinion it equally concerns both your own honour and the public welfare, that I, who am one of a very small number, should still be retained in the best possible position for promoting the harmony of you two and of our fellow-countrymen.

Though I have already thanked you in the matter of Lentulus for being the preserver of a man who had once been mine, yet for my part on reading the letter which he has sent me, written in a spirit of the warmest gratitude for your liberality and kindness, I even pictured myself as owing to you the safety which you have granted to him; and if this shows you that I am of a grateful nature in his case, secure me, I entreat you, some opportunity of showing myself no less so in the case of Pompeius.

LXV. (AD ATT. IX. 12.)

FROM CICERO, PROBABLY AT FORMIAE, TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 21, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 I had finished reading your letter on the 20th, when in comes information from Lepta that Pompeius is under siege, and even the passages of the harbour closed by a floating bridge; what more, upon my honour, my tears prevent me from either thinking or writing about—I enclose you a copy.

Wretches that we are! Why have we not all gone with him to follow his fate to the end? And now here comes the same account from Matus and Trebatius, who fell in with Caesar's couriers at Minturnae. Oh! I am in such tortures of despair that I could even envy the fate of Mucius¹. Still how honourable, how clear your advice is! how watchfully it has been thought over! whether about my route, or my voyage, or an interview and discussion with Caesar—everything is as prudent as it is careful of honour. As to your invitation to Epirus indeed, it is more than kind and generous—it is brotherly.

I am astounded about Dionysius². The man who has shown ² this most indecent contempt for my reverse is one who was treated with more respect in my house than even Panaetius was at Scipio's³. I hate the fellow, and mean to hate him. Would that I could punish him! but his own character will be his punishment.

Consider now above all times, I intreat you, what I ought ³ to do. Here is an army of the Roman Republic blockading Pompeius, enclosing him with trench and fosse, cutting him off from escape. Are we yet alive, and is yon city standing? The praetors administer justice; the aediles are preparing for the sports; respectable citizens are investing their profits; I myself am sitting still! Ought I to make an attempt like a madman to get there where he is? Or to appeal to the loyalty of the country towns? The good citizens will not follow; the worthless ones will mock me; the violent radicals, now that they are armed and triumphant, will lay hands upon me. What is your advice therefore? Have you any prescription ⁴

¹ See Letter liv. § 6.

² This Dionysius, a freedman of Cicero, and tutor to young Marcus and Quintus, is mentioned in Letters xxviii. § 10; xlv. § 1. His offence seems only to have been refusing to go with Cicero, who eventually forgave him; see Letter lxxiv. § 1. Compare Forsyth, p. 357.

³ The Stoic philosopher Panaetius, author of the work on Moral Obligation on which Cicero's '*De Officiis*' is based, was introduced to the celebrated literary circle at the house of Scipio Aemilianus, who treated him with distinguished regard.

in your store for ending this unhappiest of lives? Now it is that I feel the pain, now comes the torment; at the very time when somebody is perhaps thinking that I was either very prudent or very lucky for not having gone too. To me the very reverse is the truth: I never wanted to be a partaker of his triumph; far rather had I been one of his adversity. Why do I now entreat your letters, why the support of your prudence and friendliness? All is over; there is nothing now that can possibly help me, who no longer have even anything to wish for—except perchance that from the enemy's hand may come some merciful release.

LXVI. (AD ATT. IX. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 26, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Pompeius having finally escaped from Brundisium, Caesar was now returning to Rome by way of Capua and Sinuessa (*Mondragone*). From the former place he sent the letter here enclosed to Atticus in answer to one from Cicero expressing admiration of his clemency at Corfinium, on which see Introduction to Letter liv, and lviii. § 3.

Abeken, p. 296; Forsyth, p. 370.

- 1 Though I have nothing to write to you about I send this letter that I may leave no day without one. It is reported that Caesar will stop on the 27th at Sinuessa. I now—the 26th—have received a letter from him, wherein this time he ‘hopes to avail himself of my *means* of assistance,’ not merely my ‘assistance,’ as in the previous one¹. In answer to my letter, which was written to express my admiration of the generosity he showed at Corfinium, he replied as follows.

COPY OF CAESAR'S LETTER.

- 2 You know me too well not to keep up your character as an Augur by recognising that nothing is more entirely alien

¹ Cicero, playing on the wider meaning of ‘opes’ in the plural than in the singular, insinuates that Caesar wanted money this time. For the juggle of words Caesar of course is not responsible.

from my nature than cruelty: I will add that while my decision is in itself a great source of pleasure to me, to find my conduct approved by you is a triumph of gratification. Nor does the fact at all disturb me that those people whom I have set at liberty are reported to have gone their ways only to renew the attack upon me²; because there is nothing I wish more than that I may ever be true to my own character, and they no less to theirs.

May I hope that you will be near town when I am there, ³ so that I may as usual avail myself in everything of your advice and means of assistance? Let me assure you that I am charmed beyond everything with your relation, Dolabella, to whom I shall acknowledge myself still further indebted for procuring me this obligation; for so great is his kindness, and such his feeling and affection for myself, that he cannot possibly do otherwise.

LXVII. (AD ATT. IX. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 29, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

On the 28th Caesar arrived at Formiæ from Sinuessa, and had the interview with Cicero here described, which produced no decisive understanding. 'The reader cannot but observe from this letter how much our author's style is influenced by his situation. He speaks as one out of breath after a terrible fright, in half-broken, short sentences.' (Guthrie's *Epistles to Atticus*.) It may therefore have been written on the evening of the 28th, but more probably not till the 29th, since after the interview Cicero left for Arpinum, Caesar for Penum, a town lying between Tibur and Praeneste.

Merivale, ii. p. 166; Abeken, p. 297; Forsyth, pp. 370-1.

As you advised in both respects; in the first place my ¹ language was calculated rather to make him respect than be grateful to me, and in the second I stuck to my point—no going

² This alludes to Domitius Ahenobarbus, who on his release from Corfinium proceeded to occupy Massilia (Marseilles), and made there a determined resistance to Caesar. See Letter lxii. note 2; and Introduction to lxxvi.

to town. Where I was deceived was in having expected to find easy compliance in him: I have never seen less of it. My decision, says he, is a censure on himself, and the others will be more inclined to hang back if I have refused to come; I reply that their reasons are not the same. After much of this, 'Well, come then and propose a peaceful settlement.' 'And,' say I, 'with full discretion?' 'Am I,' says he, 'to dictate to you?' 'This,' I remark, 'is what I shall propose: that in the opinion of the Senate it is inexpedient that you should proceed to Spain, and that troops should be conveyed to Greece; and I shall,' say I, 'fully express my sympathy for Pompeius.' Then he, 'But that I cannot approve of your saying.' 'Just what I was thinking,' say I, 'but the very reason why I do not want to be there is that I must either speak in this way, and about many things which I could not leave unsaid on any terms if I were there, or else not go at all.' In the end, as if he was anxious to quit the discussion, 'Would I then take time to think over it?' This could not be refused. So we parted. I fancy therefore that he is not much in love with me, but I am in love with myself, a feeling to which I have long been a stranger.

- 2 As for the rest, good heavens what a following he has!—quite an 'Inferno,' as you are fond of describing it¹. It contained among others Celer's man Eros²! O the utter villainy—the gang of desperadoes! What do you say to a son of

¹ See Letter lxiii. § 7, note.

² This is the commonest reading, 'Eros Celeri' or 'Celeris' (sc. Metelli libertus), which requires no alteration of the text, but the allusion remains absolutely obscure. The corrections proposed are almost infinite, but none of them carry conviction. Hofmann suggests 'in qua erat area sceleris' (=in what an arena of crime was he moving,' and this, with the substitution of 'scelerum,' is adopted without comment by Mr. Parry. Koch proposes 'in qua erant mera scelera,' to which Boot inclines; and Peirlkamp 'quae cohors scelerum.' Others suspect the corruption of a Greek word: Gronovius suggests 'in qua erat *ēpos* (=cupidity) scelerum;' Kayser, '*κέρας* (=cornu copiae) scelerum;' Hermann, with elaborate ingenuity, 'in qua ego *Teupecias*.' Probably the worst of all is Orelli's 'in qua erat *ἐπεσχηλῆ*' (=raillery).

Sulpicius and another of Titinius being actually in an army besieging Pompeius! Six legions! and he is as watchful as he is bold—I see no limit to troubles. Well, now assuredly you must produce your advice; it was agreed that this was the last thing to wait for. Still that *finale* of his—which I ³ had all but omitted—is annoying; that if I would not allow him to avail himself of my advice, he would take that of persons who were available, and condescend to all counsels alike. Have I then really seen the great man, as I had said, and smarted for it? Yes, indeed I have. Give you the sequel? The next thing was that he went to his house at Pedum, I to Arpinum; from which place I for my part am on the look-out for the always cheery *babillage* promised in your letter ³. Come, plague on it! you will say, no doing what is already done with. Yet even the great man we follow made many mistakes. But I am expecting your letter, for ⁴ your ‘let us wait and see how this will turn out’ is no longer any good. This meeting of ours was to be the final thing; and as I doubt not that I have by it offended our friend we must act all the more promptly. An you love me, a letter—*politiquant* too; I am so anxiously looking now for what you will have to say.

³ The reading of the Medicean MS. is AAATEACAN, which has never been satisfactorily corrected. *Ααλαγεῦσαν* is a mere correction of Bos, introduced from Ad Att. x. 2, and much discredited by being made to rest on the imaginary support of his fictitious MS. Mr. Watson however adopts that reading, and explains it as ‘the letter that is to warn me to start with the swallows in spring.’ But this is obviously far-fetched to an extreme degree. If *ααλαγεῦσαν* be retained it would be better to let it keep its regular meaning of ‘chirrupping,’ i. e. bright, cheerful, chatty; which seems to have been the character of Atticus’s letters—for he was in comparatively little danger—contrasted with the doleful spirit in which Cicero now generally wrote. Boot however prefers to read *διατελοῦσαν*, = ‘the decisive letter;’ and this only involves a slight change of the MS. reading. But what authority is there for this use of *διατελέω*?

LXVIII. (AD ATT. X. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT HIS BROTHER'S HOUSE NEAR ARPINUM TO
ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 3, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Caesar arrived at Rome on the 1st of April, and by means of an obsolete privilege of the tribunes in the absence of the consuls proceeded at once to convene a Senate. A sufficient number of members were in the capital to form a quorum, but nearly all the nobler and more influential ones were to be found in the so-called 'Three Hundred' of the emigrants, at the 'Roman Coblenz,' as Mommsen calls it, of Thessalonica, by whom the 'Caesarean Senate of nobodies' was invariably regarded as having no legal status whatever.

Caesar's next step was to seize the public treasure stored in the vaults of the temple of Saturn, which had been, by an almost incredible oversight, left behind by the Pompeians in their hasty flight (Letter xlv, Introduction). A tribune, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, attempted to bar the way, and either was arrested, or, as Lucan (Phars. iii. 144) describes it, gave way to threats. This was undoubtedly a measure to Caesar of extreme necessity, or he would not have risked the character he had steadily maintained, by his scrupulous avoidance of all confiscations. (Letter lxxi. § 6.) Leaving his ablest officers in charge of the corn-provinces (see Letter lxxiv), and the praetor Lepidus to govern the capital, he himself now hastened across the Alps and Pyrenees to crush the left wing of the Pompeians in Spain.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 379-382, 390, and 397; Merivale, ii. 164-170.

The last section of this letter is sometimes thought to be a distinct one, which has become confused in the MSS. Compare Letter lv, where this is probably the case. The section is at all events extremely obscure, and the text in a corrupt state.

- 1 I have found your letter on my arrival here at my brother's estate of Laterium on the 3rd, and drawn breath again a little; which I have not had a chance of doing before since this catastrophe came; for it is of the last importance in my eyes that you should approve of my firmness of demeanour and the step I have taken. When therefore you tell me that I have the approval of our dear Peducaeus I am so delighted that I could fancy myself strengthened also by the calm judgment of his father, for whom I always had as high respect as for any one man in the world. I still often call to mind how he

once said to me—it was on *the* 5th of December¹—in answer to my ‘Sextus, which way is it to be?’ ‘Nay,’ said he,

‘Stat sua cuique dies ; breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitae, sed famam extendere factis
Hoc virtutis opus.’

His authority therefore still lives on with me, and the son has to my mind no less weight than the father, whose image he is, once possessed. Will you remember me to him most sincerely?

Although it is not for any very long time that you postpone your advice—for I suppose that by this time that hired peace-monger² has already made his peroration, and that something has been done in this caucus of senators (a Senate it is not, in my opinion),—nevertheless you are keeping me in great suspense about it, somewhat lessened however by the fact that I have no doubt what you will think I must do. For when you tell me that Flavius³ has the offer of Sicily and a legion with it, and that this is already being carried out, how can you but assume that some of their wicked schemes are now being elaborately planned, others sure to be practised whenever circumstances allow? As for myself I shall disregard the law laid down by your great townsman Solon—I fancy I might even call him mine,—who made it a capital crime for any one to have been neutral in a revolution⁴, and unless your opinion is against me I shall keep out of both

¹ The day on which Catilina's associates were strangled. See Introduction to Letter iii, and compare xxix. § 12.

² Aen. x. 467–9. The thought, though not the form of expression, is closely parallel to the lines of Homer (Il. xxii. 304–5) here quoted by Cicero.

³ Boot and others refer this to Curio, but Mr. Watson suggests that Lepidus, the future triumvir, may be meant. See Letter lxii. § 3, *note*. The same person is called ‘iste nummarius,’ *infra*, § 2.

⁴ Flavius was the person who when tribune had actually imprisoned the consul Metellus for resisting an Agrarian law. See Letter ix. § 8. Sicily was not however assigned to him, but to Curio. (See Letter lxxiv.)

⁵ Grote's Greece, part ii. ch. 11. It was ‘capital’ only in the sense of involving total loss of one's rights as a citizen.

one side and the other; though I can say so more positively about one of the two. I shall not however make a premature move; I mean to wait for your decision, and for the letter which—unless you have already sent one off—I wrote that you were to give to Cephalius.

- 3 As to your saying in your letter, apparently not as though you had heard it from some other quarter, but as an idea which occurred to you, that the attraction will be too much for me if the question of peace is raised, I myself can see no possibility that any question of peace will be raised at all, since he is absolutely determined, if he has the power, to deprive Pompeius of his army and of his provincial government; unless by any chance our well-paid friend can persuade him to remain passive while delegates are going to and fro. I see nothing left for me to hope for, or even at the present time to conceive as possible. But even to entertain the idea would show that a man was right-minded? Well, it is a great question, and quite one of the problems of *la haute politique*, whether if a tyrant means to consider the proposition of doing some virtuous act, one is bound to be a member of his cabinet. Consequently, supposing it to have so come about that I am sent for—to which I for my part am indifferent, because I have already told him, to his own great disgust, what I was likely to say on the question of peace—however, supposing something of the kind to have happened, be sure you write and tell me what you think I ought to do; for nothing as yet has occurred to me which would seem to require more careful deliberation. I am very glad you were pleased with the expressions of Trebatius, a good man and a good citizen, and your repeated '*bravos*' and '*bravissimos*' are the sole pleasure I have had hitherto. I am eagerly expecting your letter, which indeed has already, I suppose, been despatched.

- 4 You, and Peducaeus too, have maintained the full dignity of demeanour you would impress upon me. Your man Celer is more clever than sensible. All that you have heard about the lads from Tullia is quite true. The circum-

stance⁶ you mention seems to me to be not so bad in reality as it sounds: this *embrouillement* of everything round us is to me as the shadow of death; because my duty was either to make an independent *coup* here among the rascals, or be at any cost of danger among the patriots. Let us either follow the rash venture of the patriotic, or run a tilt against the audacity of the rebels. Both courses have their dangers, while this which we are pursuing is discreditable without being any the more safe.

I think that the gentleman who sent his son to Brundisium in the interests of peace⁷ (and talking of peace, I entirely agree with you that while they make outward pretences of it the war is being vigorously pushed forward) will, and that I shall not, be sent as their envoy⁸, seeing that, as I hoped, nobody has hitherto mentioned me at all. This makes it not so imperative on me to write or even to reflect beforehand what I should do if circumstances hereafter have so brought it about that I am made their ambassador.

⁶ The *vox nihili* 'Maconi' is generally supposed to represent some Greek word, a fertile source of corruption in the MSS., but what word is quite uncertain. Tunstall proposed *κλον*, = a climax, referring it to an idea of suicide; Orelli *ἐνδόμυχον*, = the family secret (see Letter xxxvi. § 14); Boot *φάρμακον*, = some violent remedy suggested by Atticus. The latter also for *ἀλη* &c. would read '*ἀνάλγητος*. In quo' &c.

⁷ It is possible, as Boot thinks, that the first 'de pace' has simply crept in from the error of a copyist. Supposing it to be retained, there is the further difficulty of deciding whether it is used seriously or ironically. It must be the latter if Servius Sulpicius is the person referred to, because his son (Letter lxvii. § 2) was actually serving in Caesar's army. Manutius suggests that the elder Balbus is the person meant, but in that case 'filius' must be used of his nephew. The point indeed is one which it is now impossible satisfactorily to clear up.

⁸ For this peculiar construction (if the text be sound), which understands an affirmative in the former of two clauses from a negative in the latter, compare the well-known '*venena magnum fas nefasque non valent Convertere humanam vicem*' (Hor. Epod. v. 87), according to Lambinus's interpretation, which is now generally accepted; i.e. '*venena valent fas nefasque, non valent humanam vicem convertere*.' Lambinus quotes this passage as a parallel for his view. A similar construction occurs in Tacitus, Ann. xii. 64; xiii. 56.

LXIX. (AD FAM. VIII. 16.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT ARPINUM
OR CUMÆ.

Early in April, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

For an account of Caelius see Introduction to Letter xxxiii. The letter of Cicero to which this is an answer, hinting at his probable departure to join Pompeius, has not been preserved. But Caelius had now changed his never very permanent views, and believed in the superiority of Caesar. He therefore writes to dissuade Cicero from his purpose, working on his fears by describing Caesar's resentment, and laying particular stress on the importance of the war in Spain, where he believed that success would be decisive of the whole struggle. Cicero in his answer thinks it prudent to deny that he ever hinted at any such intention. On the subsequent fate of Caelius see Introduction to Letter lxxvi.

Caesar left Rome for Spain in the beginning of April. This letter seems to have been written very near the time of his departure. Compare with it the letters of Antonius and Caesar himself (lxxii and lxxiii).

Abeken, p. 300; Forsyth, p. 373.

- 1 Alarmed beyond measure at your letter, which shows me that your thoughts are bent only on some unhappy step, and does not explicitly state what that is,—and yet it was impossible for you not to disclose the shape your thoughts were assuming,—I lose not a moment in writing you these lines. For your own welfare, my dear Cicero,—for your children's sake—I implore and beseech you not to take any step which must injuriously affect your safe position and immunity from danger. For I call heaven and earth and the friendship there is between us to witness that I warned you beforehand, and did not give you any needless caution; but that no sooner did I have an interview with Caesar, and ascertain with regard to his views, what they were likely to be when the victory was won, than I gave you full information. If you imagine that Caesar's policy will continue as it is now—letting his antagonists go free, and offering them terms of peace—you are mistaken. His thoughts and even his expressions show nothing but a spirit of cruelty and revenge; he is gone away in a rage with the Senate; he is distinctly stung by all this

interference of the tribunes; by Heaven, there will be no room left for entreaties. Therefore if you have any regard for your-² self—if for your only son—for your family—for your hopes of the future; if we and if your excellent son-in-law have any influence at all with you—then you ought not to wish to make our fortunes so utterly bankrupt that we should be driven into hating or abandoning that cause, in the triumph of which is our only safety, or into entertaining an unnatural desire to destroy your safety instead. In a word, consider this, that whatever odium may have been involved in your hesitation you have already incurred: to declare against Caesar now, after your reluctance to injure him while his success was doubtful, and go to join the very men when beaten whom you were reluctant to follow while they could still show fight, is for you the height of folly. Do not let it be that while ashamed of seeming to care too little for the cause of the nobles, you are too little careful to choose that course which is really noble.

If however I cannot entirely convince you, at any rate wait³ while we are getting information how things will go for us in the Spanish Provinces: and those I am able to report will be ours on Caesar's arrival there. What your friends have to hope for when both parts of Spain are gone I know not; moreover, upon my honour I fail to discover what is your ultimate object in going to join men whose hopes are destroyed. This purpose, which you intimated to me sufficiently,⁴ if not by an explicit statement, had already come to the ears of Caesar; and the very first thing he did after wishing me 'good-morning' was to state immediately what he had heard about you. I denied any knowledge of it; but I begged him all the same to write to you in such a way as you would be most likely to consider an additional motive towards staying. I myself go with him into Spain; or else before going to town I would have instantly come to you wherever you were, and pleaded with you to your face for this; indeed I would have exerted all the force I possessed to keep you back. Again and again, my dear Cicero, reflect, lest you⁵

utterly ruin yourself and those who love you ; lest deliberately and with your eyes open you put yourself where you can see there is no means of escape. But if either the clamour of the aristocrats influences you, or you cannot abide the insolent swagger of some of these fellows, my advice is that you should choose some town which is clear of the war, while these issues, which will be decided immediately, are being fought out. Do that, and then not only shall I consider you to have acted with discretion, but you will be giving no offence to Caesar.

LXX. (AD FAM. II. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM OR CUMÆ TO CAELIUS AT ROME.

(An answer to the preceding letter.)

April, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

1 Your letter would have caused me great distress, had not both reason itself now banished all my disquietudes, and my heart become callous to any new pang from the weariness of utter despair. Nevertheless, how it can have happened that my previous letter gave you any cause for suspecting what you mention I do not understand ; what indeed did it contain beyond lamentations of these evil days, which if they keep my mind on the rack affect your own no less ? For I know the keen edge of your penetration too well to imagine that you are blind to what I see myself : what I wonder at is rather that you, who ought to know me below the surface, could be induced to believe that I am either so reckless as to desert the star that is now in its zenith for the one that is sinking and all but below the horizon ; or else so flighty as to throw away my whole stock of favour with a man who is now in the full flush of success, voluntarily be untrue to myself, and—what from the very first I have throughout avoided—mix myself up in a civil war.

2 What therefore is this ‘unhappy resolution’ of mine ? Can

it be that of retiring to some solitary spot? For you can appreciate—you once used to feel like me yourself—not only how indignantly I loathe, but also how disgusting it is to me to see the scandal of these upstarts in place. Besides, there is my embarrassing train of attendants, and the military title by which I am still addressed: were I but free from the burden of this honour I could be content with a hiding-place, however humble, in Italy. But these laurels of mine attract not only the eyes, but now even excite the cries¹ of my ill-wishers. Yet this being the case, I have never once entertained the idea of leaving Italy, except with the approval of you all. But you know my estates, such as they are, in the country: I am obliged to stay on them, that I may not be a burden to my friends. Because however I find those by the sea-side the best to pass the time in, I give rise in some people to a suspicion that I want to take ship; to which perhaps, it is true, I should not be disinclined if that could be a voyage to peace. Being as it is to nothing but war, where is the advantage? particularly to fight against one man who is, I hope, satisfied with my conduct in the interests of another who now cannot possibly ever be satisfied.

Then you again have had the best opportunities for knowing³ my sentiments ever since that occasion when we met at my house at Cumae; for I made no secret to you of my conversation with Balbus. You saw how averse I was, when I was told it, to the abandonment of the capital. Did I not solemnly declare to you that I would suffer anything in the world rather than go to a civil war out of Italy? What then has happened that could make me change my purpose? Has not everything on the contrary tended to confirm me in my views? I trust you will believe this, which is, I think, your opinion of me already, that in all these troubles I have had no other aim than to make people see at last that my choice before anything else was peace: if this was not to be thought

¹ Evidently there is a weak play of words in 'oculos' and 'voculas.'

of, my abhorrence beyond anything else was civil war. Of my steadfastness in this I think I shall never in the end have to repent. Indeed I well remember that it was a point our dear friend Hortensius used to pride himself upon, that he had never taken part in the Civil War. In this respect my glory will be brighter than his, because in his case it was attributed to want of resolution; a supposition that cannot, I think, be held about me.

4 Nor are my fears excited by such considerations as you—most honestly and affectionately—put forward to arouse them; because there is no trouble so bitter but it seems to be hanging over us all in the world's universal ruin. From this indeed I would most cheerfully have redeemed our country, at the price of some suffering to me and mine; even of all that you bid me
5 have a care for. As to my son, who I rejoice to find is dear to you, if anything of the Republic is to survive, I shall leave him a patrimony enough and to spare in the memory of my name; if however this is not to be, his lot will be no exceptional one among his fellow-countrymen. For when you ask me to have some regard for my own son-in-law—an excellent young man, who is moreover very dear to me—can you, who know how much both he and even more my Tullia are to me, possibly doubt that this is the very care which causes me the most distracting anxiety? And I feel it the more because in our common wretchedness I used to cheer myself at least with this gleam of hope, that the Dolabella for whom I, and indeed both of us, have so much regard would be set free from those straits in which his openhandedness had involved him. I should like you to make some inquiry what sort of days he was forced to spend while he was in town—how bitter they were to himself; how far from redounding to the credit even of me as his father-in-law.

6 Consequently I am neither waiting for the coming event in Spain,—about which I am thoroughly satisfied it will be as you say,—nor artfully forming any plan at all. If this is ever to be a settled country, surely some place in it will be found

for me; if however this is not to be, you yourself, I suspect, will come to the same solitary spot where you shall hear that I have settled. But perhaps I am only a prophet of evil, and all these things will have a happier ending; for I recollect the despairing fits of those who were old people when I was young; possibly I am now imitating them, and giving way to the foible of age. I trust it may be so; but still—!

I suppose you have heard that a magistrate's robe is already ⁷ in hand for Oppius; for as to our good friend Curtius he has his eye on the double colours; but *the person from whom he takes his colour* is keeping him waiting². This by way of seasoning, so that you may know that even amid my indignation I keep up the habit of laughing.

As to Dolabella, I recommend you to look to what I said, just as if your own interests were concerned. I will end with this: I mean to do nothing defiantly, nothing rashly; I entreat you however, in whatever land my lot is to be cast, to extend the protection to me and my children to which our friendship and your honour will give us a claim.

LXXI. (AD ATT. X. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT CUMÆ TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

May 2, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

In this letter are enclosed the two which follow from Antonius and Caesar, warning Cicero against joining Pompeius in much the same spirit as Caelius had done (Letter lxi.). To Antonius Cicero replied that he had no intention of opposing Caesar, but thought of leaving Italy owing to the inconvenience caused by the parade of his attendants, whom he still retained with a faint hope of a triumph. Antonius answered briefly that no neutral could be allowed to leave Italy without the express permission of Caesar, but that this would probably be granted on application. Cicero remained therefore in his villa at Cumæ for about two months, waiting not only for fair weather (he was a very bad sailor), but for a safe opportunity of leaving Italy without

² The 'double colours' are the *trabea*, or robe of an Augur, which was of purple and saffron. 'Infector,' by which Caesar is meant, plays on the ambiguous meaning of the word 'inficio,' which signifies to corrupt as well as to dye. It contains therefore a sneer—apparently undeserved—at Oppius and Curtius, as if they were bribed by offers of place.

being arrested. Meanwhile everybody was anxiously expecting the result of the war in Spain. See Introduction to Letter lxxvi.

Merivale, ii. p. 220; Abeken, p. 300; Forsyth, pp. 373-5; Froude, Caesar, p. 370.

- 1 Not only did circumstances suggest, but you had already pointed out, and I myself was conscious, that it was time to put a stop to our correspondence on such topics as it might be dangerous to have intercepted; but seeing that my daughter is perpetually writing to me to beg that I will wait for the issue of events in Spain, and invariably adds that your opinion agrees with hers—as indeed I have myself perceived from your letters—I do not think it is out of place to write to you about my views on that question.
- 2 It seems to me that this advice of yours would be the prudent one on the supposition that I intended to shape my plans by the turn which fortune takes in Spain; which is impossible. It surely must necessarily be the case that either—as I should most like to see—the individual in question is driven out of Spain; or the war there is protracted; or else that person must make himself master (as he seems to be confident of doing) of the two Provinces. Say that he will be driven out. Very welcome or very honourable my joining Pompeius would be then at a time when I should think that Curio himself would be preparing to desert to his standard! Say then that the war is protracted: what event am I to wait for, and for how long? The remaining alternative is that I should quietly submit if we are beaten in Spain. I myself think just the opposite; I hold that such a person is even more to be separated from in his day of triumph than of defeat, and when doubt is rather possessing his mind than the confidence of success. For whenever he has become the conqueror, I look for not only a massacre, but also a raid upon private property; a recall of exiles; a clean sweep of debts¹;

¹ Compare Letter xlvii. § 1, where Greek phrases are employed instead. This is one of many passages therefore which show that Cicero did not use Greek words only where there was no exact equivalent in Latin. See General Preface.

places showered upon the vilest of creatures; and a tyranny that hardly any Oriental would put up with, let alone a born Roman. Will my indignation be able to refrain from words? ³ Will my eyes be able to endure a vision of myself expressing my opinion side by side with Gabinius—of his even being asked before mine²—or of your retainer Clodius, Ateius's Plaguleius, and the rest of them looking on? But why string together a list of my enemies when I cannot even see acquaintances whom I have formerly defended sitting in the Senate House, or mix among them without degradation? What if even this is by no means certain, that they will give me the opportunity of doing so? for some of his friends write me word that he most decidedly does not think I have done him justice, by not having put in an appearance in the Senate. Am I then all the same to hesitate about selling myself at certain risk to a man with whom I did not wish even with assured advantage to be allied?

Then moreover notice this, that the final decision of the ⁴ whole contest does not rest with the Spanish Provinces, unless indeed you think that when they are lost Pompeius will throw down his arms; whereas his policy is entirely Themistoclean; for he holds that whoever is master of the sea, that is the man who must of necessity gain the supremacy³. Accordingly he has never made it a point to keep Spain for his own administration; his first care has always been to keep up the naval force supplied. Whenever the time shall come therefore he will sail with an enormous fleet and come to the shores of Italy; and if I am idly waiting there, what am I to be? for there will be no more license given to neutrals. Shall I then take part against him [and his fleet]? Could there be any greater crime—could any indeed be so great? What lower depth of disgrace is left? Shall I, who

³ See Letter vi. note 7.

⁴ This alludes to the famous interpretation put by Themistocles upon the 'wooden walls' which were counselled by the Delphic Oracle. Herodotus, vii. 143-4; Grote, part ii. ch. 39.

all alone here have stoutly endured his criminal behaviour to my absent friends, refuse to endure it from the same hand when I am with Pompeius and all our other foremost men⁴?

5 Whereas if I am now to let duty go, and calculate the risk, I am in danger from one party if I have done what is wrong, from their opponent if I have done what is right, nor can any conceivable plan of action in these troubles be found which will be void of risk; so that I have now no scruple in avoiding a [discreditable] course when it is accompanied by danger, which I should naturally avoid even were it accompanied by safety. Why did I not cross over with Pompeius? That was absolutely out of my power; anybody may compare the dates. But still—let me confess the truth—I did not even try very hard to make it possible. The circumstance which deceived me—perhaps it ought not to have deceived me, but still it did—is that I thought they would come to terms; and, if that was to be so, I did not want to have Caesar embittered against me when he was at the same time on friendly terms with Pompeius: because I knew by experience what birds of a feather they were⁵. It was this fear which led me into the snare of procrastination. But if I make haste now I regain all; if I delay I lose all.

6 Yet even after all this, my dear Atticus, I have certain auguries as well which inspire me with no uncertain hope—auguries not such as our college has dealt in since the days

⁴ The whole of this passage is almost hopelessly corrupt, and the translation here given is simply an attempt to render as closely as possible the text which Mr. Watson has adopted. The only correction indeed that this text absolutely requires grammatically is to supply an antecedent to 'eiusdem.' Perhaps 'cuius' should be read for 'qui.' Some of the readings proposed for the first few words, which are unintelligible in the Medicean MS., may be here added. 'An qui invalidi et absentes' (Schütz, adopted by Mr. Parry). 'An invadentis in absentes' (Hofmann). 'An qui valide huic obstat eius' (Kaysers).

⁵ Billerbeck explains this as meaning the same as they were at the time of Cicero's exile, and Mr. Watson says that this is supported by Letter xxv. § 1. But surely the addition in the latter place of 'qui fuerant' makes all the difference. And 'enim' seems to give the reason for saying 'amicus Pompeio.'

of Attus⁶, but the greater words of Plato about tyrants⁷; for I do not see any conceivable way by which that individual can stand much longer, without falling of himself, even though we should be too indolent to make a move; when you consider that in spite of all his flourishing condition, and the advantage of novelty, he has in a week or so incurred the bitterest hatred, even from that hungry and desperate rabble: that in that short space of time he has forfeited two of the pretensions to which he lays claim; to gentle dealing, in the case of Metellus, and to ample resources, in that of the Treasury⁸. Now what associates, or subordinates if you like, is he to have in his work, if these personages are to be made kings in the provinces—if they are to be kings even in the Republic,—not one of whom has been able as yet to keep his own estate in hand for so much as a couple of months? It is not for me here to put down in detail all the facts through which you can see with such acuteness: do you merely put them well before your eyes, and you will at once perceive that his royalty can hardly be a matter of even six months.

If however I am deceived here I shall bear it, as many of the most eminent public men have borne it before: unless indeed you have come to the conclusion that I should prefer a death after the fashion of Sardanapalus [on his own bed at home⁹] to one in the exile of Themistocles; who though he

⁶ Attus Navius was the well-known Augur who divided Tarquinius's whetstone with the razor. Livy, i. 36.

⁷ Plato, Republic, viii. pp. 562 foll. 'He who is the real tyrant, whatever men may think, is the real slave. . . . All his life long he is beset with fears and distractions.' p. 579.

⁸ See Introduction to Letter lxviii.

⁹ The words 'in suo lectulo' are put in brackets by Boot and Mr. Watson as being probably a marginal gloss upon 'mori,' inappropriately introduced from Ad Att. x. 14. 3, or Letter lxxxvii. § 2. But the words in themselves present no difficulty; 'suo' (for which Wesenberg reads 'meo') being used as though a participle such as 'extincti' followed, and Sardanapalus being the governing subject of the separate thought. After a long and determined defence of Nineveh, when further resistance became impossible, Sardanapalus placed his wives and his treasures (including rich *couches*, according to

had shown himself, as Thucydides says¹⁰, '*at once the soundest judge of the present upon the most limited deliberation, and the best forecaster of what was yet to be into the most distant depths of the future*,' fell nevertheless into such misfortunes as he must have kept clear of if nothing had deceived him. Though he was one who (as the same author tells us) '*most of all men used to discern the better and the worse when yet wrapped in obscurity*,' he none the less failed to see how he would have to flee from the jealousy of the Spartans, or how again from his own countrymen, or what promises he would hereafter be brought to make to Artaxerxes. That night had not been so untimely to Scipio Africanus¹¹, one of the wisest of men, nor Sulla's day so disastrous to Marius, one of the shrewdest, had neither one nor the other ever been deceived.

- 8 Nevertheless I can support my view by the saying of the great prophet which I have quoted: I am neither deceived, nor will there be a different ending. It is absolutely certain that he will fall, whether it be through his enemies, or simply through his own means, he being indeed his own one irreconcilable enemy: what I hope for is that this will come to pass before I die. Yet it is time for me to be thinking now of that eternal life which is to come, not of this brief one here. But should anything befall me before that time is ripe, it surely will not have made much difference to me

Ctesias) upon a funeral pyre, and perished with them. Cicero might thus be said to resemble Sardanapalus if he determined to die where his life had been passed, amid the old surroundings. The diminutive '*lectulo*' gives this suggestion of familiarity and affection. The general argument is: 'If I am mistaken in believing that Caesar's power will rapidly fall I shall have to go into exile like Themistocles—a well-known instance of an acute intelligence entirely mistaken in his forecast,—unless you think that I should prefer like Sardanapalus at any cost to die at home.'

¹⁰ Thuc. i. 136-8. Cicero is evidently quoting from memory, since the passage is not quite accurately repeated. Themistocles promised Artaxerxes that all Greece should be brought into subjection to the Persian crown.

¹¹ See Letter xxiii. note 7.

whether I am to see it done, or have already seen from afar that it will come to pass. And this being so, I cannot stoop to receive orders from those against whom the Senate armed me with powers to see 'that the State come to no harm¹².'

To you all that I have has been already commended, though indeed your love for me makes it needless to commend it. Nor, upon my word, do I see anything to write about, because I am simply sitting on the watch for '*un vent propice*': though indeed I never before felt so bound to write about anything as to tell you that among the innumerable pleasant things you have done I never felt anything more gratefully than the extremely tender and careful way in which you have watched over my dearest Tullia. She herself is perfectly charmed with it; nor do I feel it any less strongly. And indeed her spirit is astonishing. How well she bears up against the national disasters—how well against her worries at home! Then what spirit she shows about my going away! Though hers is no mere *tendresse*, but the very *fusion d'âme* of love, yet her wish is that I should do what is right, and have the good word of all. But of this subject too much already, for fear I now excite in myself some *pitié de moi-même*.

You will be sure to write me anything you hear which is comparatively certain about the Spanish Provinces, and whatever else there may be while I am near you, and possibly when I go I shall send you something; all the more for this reason, that Tullia fancies under present circumstances you will not care to be away from Italy. I must represent to Antonius too, as well as Curio, that it is my wish to stay at Malta, not my wish at all to take any part in this war. I only hope I may find him as good-natured and obliging to

¹² This was the celebrated formula by which in extreme cases the Senate conferred absolute powers upon magistrates. A decree of this kind was hastily passed on the reception of the ultimatum of Caesar (Introduction to Letter xlv), calling on all consuls, ex-consuls, and other magistrates to do their duty. Mommsen, iv. 2. 359; Merivale, ii. p. 122.

me as Curio was. He was said to be coming to Misenum on the 2nd, which is to-day, but he has sent me beforehand an annoying letter, of which I enclose a copy.

LXXII. (AD ATT. X. 8 A.)

FROM MARCUS ANTONIUS TO CICERO.

(Letter enclosed in the preceding one.)

May 1 (?), 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

- 1 But that I have a strong affection for you—much greater indeed than you suppose—I should not have been greatly alarmed at the rumour which has been published about you, particularly as I took it to be a false one: but my liking for you is far too great to allow me to pretend that even the report, however false, is not to me a matter of great concern. That you will really go across seas I cannot believe when I think of the deep regard you entertain for Dolabella and his admirable wife, your daughter Tullia, and of the equal regard in which you yourself are held by us all, to whom, upon my word and honour, your name and position are perhaps dearer than they are to yourself. Nevertheless I did not think myself at liberty as a friend to be indifferent to the remarks even of unscrupulous people; and I have been the more eager to act because I hold that the part I have to play has been made more difficult by a coolness between us, originating indeed more in jealousy on my part than any injury on yours. For I beg you will thoroughly assure yourself of this, that there is no one for whom my affection is greater than for yourself, with the exception of my dear friend Caesar; and that among Caesar's most honoured friends a place is reserved for Marcus Cicero.
- 2 Therefore, my dear Cicero, I entreat you to keep your future action entirely open: reject the spurious honour of a man who

did you a great wrong that he might afterwards lay you under an obligation: do not, on the other hand, fly from one who, even if he shall lose his love for you—and that can never be the case—will none the less make it his study that you should be secure and rich in honours. I have been careful to send Calpurnius, who is my most intimate friend, to you, to let you know that your life and high position are to me a matter of deep concern.

On the same day Philotimus brought a letter from Caesar, of which this is a copy.

LXXIII. (AD ATT. X. 8 B.)

FROM JULIUS CAESAR TO CICERO.

(*Enclosed in Letter lxxi.*)

April 16, 705 A.V.O. (49 B.C.)

Though I had fully made up my mind that you would do nothing rashly, nothing imprudently, still I was so far impressed by the rumours in some quarters as to think it my duty to write to you, and ask it as a favour due to our mutual regard that you will not take any step now that the scale is so decisively turned which you would not have thought it necessary to take even though the balance still stood firm. For it will really be both a heavier blow to our friendship, and a step on your part still less judicious for yourself, if you are to be thought not even to have bowed the knee to success—for things seem to have fallen out as entirely favourably for us as disastrously for them,—nor yet to have been drawn by attachment to a particular cause—for that has undergone no change since you decided to remain aloof from their counsels,—but to have passed a stern judgment on some act of mine, which coming from you is the most painful thing that could befall me; and I claim the right of our friendship to entreat that you will not take this course.

- 2 Finally, what more suitable part is there for a good, peace-loving man, and good citizen than to keep aloof from civil dissensions? There were not a few who admired this course, but could not adopt it by reason of its danger: you, after having duly weighed both the conclusions of friendship and the unmistakeable evidence of my whole life, will find that there is no safer nor more honourable course than to keep entirely aloof from the struggle.

I am writing this while on the march, April 16.

LXXIV. (AD ATT. X. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT CUMÆ TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

May 14, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

One of Caesar's first objects on his departure for Spain was to secure the corn-provinces, and so render ineffectual the savage threat of the Pompeians to reduce Italy by famine. Pompeius had given Sardinia in charge to Marcus Aurelius Cotta, and Sicily to Cato, but both by another striking blunder were provided with inadequate forces. To the former Caesar sent Quintus Valerius, who was soon successful in taking the island; the latter was assigned to Curio, who had succeeded to the position of Labienus, with no less than four legions. Cato with honourable and characteristic independence refused to sacrifice lives in making a hopeless defence, and left Sicily without striking a blow. Cicero's judgment on his supposed pusillanimity is not only undeserved, but, as Dean Merivale says, 'formed with the utmost levity.' From Sicily Curio proceeded to Africa with two legions, and was at first so far successful as to besiege the great city of Utica, but it being relieved by Juba, King of Numidia, Curio's army was destroyed, and he himself perished.

From Cumæ Cicero moved to Pompeii, to divert the suspicion of his intended voyage. While there he received overtures from three cohorts to strike a blow in the interest of Pompeius, but suspecting some trap he prudently enough declined, and returned to Cumæ. Abeken (p. 300) erroneously asserts that he remained at Pompeii until he left Italy.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 390-394; Merivale, ii. 212-222; Abeken, pp. 300-302; Forsyth, pp. 374-5.

As to Dionysius, see Letter lxxv. § 2. The date of this letter is expressly mentioned as the 14th in Ad Att. x. 17. 1.

- 1 I had just sent off a letter to you on various subjects, when though it was still very good time in the morning enter

Dionysius; whom indeed, so far from showing myself implacable to him, I should have entirely forgiven, had he come to me at all in the spirit which you had described. I mean that in your letter which I received at Arpinum what you said was that he was coming, and would do what I wished. Now it was my wish, or rather my particular desire, that he should stay with me; and it was because he had made such short work of this suggestion, when he came to my house at Formiæ, that I used to write to you rather roughly about him. In remarkably few words however he made me a speech of which this is the gist: would I excuse him? private business made it quite impossible for him to go with me! My answer to him was short. I felt the blow severely: I saw that my present condition was to him only a subject for contempt. Well, well; perhaps you will be surprised at me: I assure you I look upon this as one of the most painful incidents I have undergone in these times. I hope he may be a friend to you: in wishing you this I am wishing that you may continue in prosperity, for that is the exact length of time he will be one.

I have hopes that my purpose will prove free from danger, ² because I have concealed my intentions, and shall, I fancy, keep them very emphatically to myself. Only let the voyage be what I want, and everything else—so far at least as care beforehand can go—shall be provided for. You, I hope, will while I am near you write to me not only about what you know or have heard, but what you foresee is likely to happen. Cato—so Curio has sent me word—who had it in ³ his power to defend Sicily without the least trouble, and would have had all good patriots flocking to join him if he had defended it, evacuated Syracuse on the 23rd of April. If only Cotta succeeds, as they are saying is the case, in keeping Sardinia!—this is really the report now. Oh, if it be so, shame on Cato!

As for myself, to lessen suspicion of my departure or of my ⁴ intentions, I left this for my house at Pompeii, meaning to

stay there until what was necessary for a voyage could be got ready. On my arrival at the villa I had an application made: 'the centurions of the three cohorts' (which are stationed at Pompeii) 'desired an interview on the following day:' wishing indeed—this is the communication of our good friend Ninnius—to put themselves and the town at my disposal. But between you and me I was off from the house next day before daylight, so that they should not get a glimpse of me at all, because what was the good of three cohorts? What if even they had been more? How was I to keep them up? I thought of the very same exploits of Caelius¹ which I have now been reading of in your letter, having received it that same day the moment I reached my house at Cumae, and [at the same time] there was the possibility that it was only done to tempt me: so I have put myself outside all suspicion.

- 5 But Hortensius had been calling while I am on my way back, and had come out of his road to pay his respects to Terentia. He had used most complimentary expressions about me. I shall probably have an opportunity of seeing him though, because he has sent his man to announce a call upon me. This at any rate is better than our colleague Antonius, who has an actress travelling in a litter among his lictors²!

¹ This allusion is somewhat doubtful. A certain Caelius, probably Caelius Calvus, grandfather of Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia, is said to have joined with Carbo in raising an army in the south of Italy to oppose Sulla, who easily overthrew him; and the passage is generally explained as referring to him. Mr. Watson however thinks it may refer to Cicero's well-known correspondent, Caelius Rufus, who although now nominally a supporter of Caesar was rapidly drifting back again to the other side, and perhaps already had hinted at a revolt. Compare Introduction to Letter lxxvi.

² 'The letter in which these circumstances are related was written from Cicero's villa at Cumae at the very time when he was in correspondence with Antonius and Curio about the course which it would be prudent for him to take. In the speech (Phil. ii. 24) he expressly says that he was not in Italy (implying that he was already in the camp of Pompeius) at the time. It is impossible after this to attach any special weight to the scandalous imputations he throws out about Antonius. . . . Even if we were to admit everything that Cicero says against him, the progress of Antonius through Italy would still

Mind that since you are free now from quartan fever, and ⁶ have shaken off not only your new complaint³ but even the heavy feeling it leaves, you bring yourself strong and well to Greece when we meet. And in the meantime a good quantity of letters.

LXXV. (AD FAM. XIV. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON A VESSEL IN THE HARBOUR OF CAIETA
TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA AT CUMAE (?).

June 7, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

At last Cicero made up his mind to take the decisive step, and embarked for Greece on the vessel which had long been kept ready for him at Caieta (Letter liv. § 6), accompanied by his son Marcus, his brother Quintus, and his nephew, the younger Quintus. Terentia and Tullia—the latter of whom had lately been confined of a seven-months' child, which soon died—were left behind, probably at Cumae, but Mr. Forsyth says at Pompeii. Cicero found

stand in luminous contrast to the devastating march of most of its previous conquerors.' Merivale, ii. p. 222. The characteristic weak play of words in 'lectica,' 'lictorea,' should be noticed.

³ According to Boot 'nedum' in the sense of 'non modo,' that is in an affirmative clause, is not found in Cicero's own writings. But he admits that it is found in the letter of Balbus and Oppius (Ad Att. ix. 7 A), 'nedum hominum humilium sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia . . . probari solent : ' so that whether it occurs elsewhere in Cicero or not is of little consequence. Compare however Ad Fam. vii. 28 : 'Erat domicilium huius urbis aptius quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae.' 'Nedum' is to 'non modo' precisely as $\mu\eta$ $\delta\omega\varsigma$ to $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\chi$ $\delta\omega\varsigma$, and like $\mu\eta$ $\delta\omega\varsigma$ does not require any verb to be expressed, but when expressed the verb is naturally put in the conjunctive. Had 'removisti' here occurred after 'etiam' or 'gravedinem,' or had 'sed' been omitted, there would not have been the slightest difficulty. Now the emphasis laid on Atticus's entire recovery from his disease, which is more important than his recovery also from its minor consequences ('gravedo'), has attracted the verb from its usual place into the more important clause. But to state this principal fact in the conjunctive (= I do not say anything about your complaint), would have been to destroy the true emphasis, and to lay the stress on the accessory fact. The reading is therefore fully capable of defence, though the rare usage has apparently given rise to some confusion in the MSS. between 'nedum' and the following word 'novum.'

It seems from Ad Att. x. 3 that this new complaint of Atticus was stranguery.

however to his surprise that his tardy arrival in the Pompeian camp was by no means welcome either to the leader or his party.

'From the time of Cicero's departure from Italy till the beginning of the following February we are without any letters; and there are but four letters to Atticus written from Epirus and from the camp of Pompeius, besides a few brief notes to Terentia from that month till the middle of July. The few letters to Atticus which remain evince the mental dejection into which he fell.' (Abeken.)

The date of this letter is given in several edd. as July 11 (iii Idus), but vii Idus seems to be the true reading.

Merivale, ii. p. 243; Abeken, pp. 302-4; Forsyth, pp. 375-8.

- 1 All those annoyances and causes of anxiety, by which I have kept you so miserable (this was indeed to me the most annoying part of it), and my Tullia too who is dearer to me than life, I have now put aside and cast out from me; discovering thereby the origin of them all the very day after leaving you. That night I was very unwell—*rien que de la bile*¹: immediately afterwards I was so relieved that it looked as if some god, [whether Apollo or Aesculapius], had been working my cure: to whom no doubt you will, as you always do, render your pure and grateful thanks.
- 2 I am in hopes that our vessel is to be a first-rate one: (this I write immediately on coming on board). I shall next write numerous letters to our more intimate friends entrusting you and my darling Tullia to their tenderest care. I would exhort you both to keep up your courage, if I had not found already that your courage beats any man's. Yet after all I am in hopes that matters are so going on that I may look forward to seeing you settled comfortably where you are now, and myself returning with kindred spirits on some future day to be the defence of the Republic.
- 3 Above all things I trust you will not neglect your health; to which I may add that you will do well to make use, at your own discretion, of those villas which will be most out of the

¹ Mr. Watson suggests that Cicero uses Greek words here for delicacy's sake. But medical terms are with him usually expressed in Greek, just as our physicians' prescriptions are written in Latin. Compare Prof. Tyrrell's Introduction, p. 83, *note*.

way of the soldiery. You will find the farm at Arpinum a convenient one to occupy with our town establishment, if ever provisions have become dearer. Our boy Marcus, who is a splendid fellow, sends you much love. Again and again good-bye.

June 7.

LXXVI. (AD FAM. VIII. 17.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME (?) TO CICERO AT
THESSALONICA.

Early in 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

Between this letter and the preceding one comes the important decision of the struggle in Spain. Caesar first proceeded to Massilia (Marseilles), which had been occupied by Domitius Ahenobarbus since his release from Corfinium (Letter lxvi. § 2), and staying there himself a month to advance the siege of the town, sent on the main part of his army under Gaius Fabius to hold the Pyrenees. The Pompeian army under Afranius and Petreius finding the passes gone, then took up its position at Ilerda (Lerida), on the Sicoris (Segre), between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. Here for forty days an extremely interesting campaign of military tactics went on, all of which are fully described by Caesar himself in his 'Civil War.' After various alternations of success the Pompeian army capitulated on Aug. 2, and was treated with extraordinary generosity. Further Spain, which was held by the celebrated scholar but incompetent general, Marcus Terentius Varro, then immediately declared for the conqueror. Meanwhile Decimus Brutus and Gaius Trebonius had vigorously pressed the siege of Massilia, at which place Caesar arrived from Spain just in time to receive its surrender in person. Sardinia and Corsica having been conquered by Valerius, and Sicily by Curio, the only Pompeian gains to be set against this vast success of Caesar over the whole of the West were the death of Curio in Africa, and a naval victory over Gaius Antonius, a younger brother of Marcus, in the Illyrian gulf.

From Massilia Caesar returned to Rome, quelling on his way a serious mutiny of the 9th legion at Placentia (Piacenza), which arose from his stern refusal ever to give up a town, as the Pompeians always did, to pillage and massacre. He had already been elected dictator on the nomination of the praetor Lepidus (see Letter lxii. note 3), in which capacity he presided at the election of consuls, and was returned with Publius Servilius Isauricus, an undecided politician who is called by Cicero an imitator of Cato (Letter ix. § 10). Though Caesar remained dictator for only eleven days he carried three measures of great importance: (1) a compromise, the substantial justice of which is proved even by this letter, on the vexed question of debts; (2) amnesty to exiles, with the sole exception of the turbulent Milo, under the acts of Pompeius

and Sulla; (3) full extension of the franchise, which had probably been informally granted before (see *Introd. to Letter xxxi*), to the Transpadane Gauls, and the citizens of Gades (Cadiz), which being not even an Italian town marks a new departure in policy. At the end of the year (which by the true time was only mid-autumn) he left Rome for Brundisium, and sailed with six greatly thinned legions for Epirus; and as Pompeius was now moving from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium the two great rivals were at last to meet face to face.

As to Caelius see *Introduction to Letters xxxiii and lxi*. This is the last letter Cicero received from him, and his subsequent fate may be here narrated. Becoming again discontented with Caesar, whom he had for a short time warmly supported, he tried a revolutionary programme; and being suspended from his praetorship by the Senate left Rome to raise in conjunction with Milo an insurrection in South Italy in favour of Pompeius (see note 1 on *Letter lxxiv*); in which both were speedily killed. The present letter is apparently written on the eve of his leaving Rome; and the date is fixed, Mr. Watson says, on the one hand by Caesar's army (§ 2) being already in presence of Pompeius, on the other by the death of Caelius, which occurred early in the year 48.

Mommsen, *iv.* 2. 382-404; Merivale, *ii.* pp. 172-257; Froude, *Caesar*, p. 378.

- 1 And this is what my being in Spain instead of at Formiae when you went to join Pompeius has come to! Would to Heaven indeed that either Appius Claudius had been on this side or Gaius Curio on yours! It was only my intimacy with him which by degrees threw me into the arms of this accursed cause; for I am conscious that rage and affection have between them robbed me of my good sense. I must say that you too, when I came from Ariminum to pay you a nocturnal visit, forgot the part of a friend in playing the sublime patriot; and while giving me instructions of peace for Caesar, you gave me no hint for my own advantage. And I am not saying this as though I had any want of confidence in our cause, but take my word for it it is better to die than have the sight of
- 2 these creatures. Indeed but that people dread the atrocities of your party, we should long ago have been turned out of this; for at present here, with the exception of a few usurers, there is neither individual nor class that is not Pompeian. I myself indeed have not only thoroughly brought round the rabble, but even the mass of burghers, who used to be ours, to your side. Why so? Nay, you must all wait and see:

I shall have made you win in spite of yourselves. I mean to pose as a second Cato: you are all asleep, and do not yet perceive, it seems to me, how exposed or how defenceless we are. Moreover I shall do this with no hope of any reward, but entirely from resentment and indignation, which generally with me has the principal weight.

What are you doing over there? Waiting for a battle? This is the strongest card in his hand. I do not know your forces: our men's way is to fight stoutly to the last, and make light of cold and hunger.

LXXVII. (AD FAM. IX. 9.)

FROM DOLABELLA IN CAESAR'S CAMP TO CICERO IN POMPEIUS'S
AT PETRA NEAR DYRRACHIUM.

May, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

On Caesar's arrival in Epirus Oricum and Apollonia at once submitted to him, and Pompeius was only just in time even to save the great arsenal of Dyrrachium; to cover which he took up his position on the right bank, his opponent being on the left, of the river Apsus. Here it daily became more absolutely necessary for Caesar, who had not the command of the sea, that Antonius should speedily bring the remaining forces from Italy. The main body of the Pompeian fleet, under the feeble Marcus Bibulus, was stationed at Corcyra; but a strong squadron, under the abler Scribonius Libo, was watching the harbour of Brundisium. Antonius however, just when Caesar's situation was nearly desperate, at last effected a start, and after an extraordinarily narrow escape landed his transports at Nymphaeum, some distance to the N. of Dyrrachium, and in a few days succeeded in joining his forces with those of his commander.

Pompeius having been thus cut off from the land-communication with Dyrrachium took up a new position at Petra (The Rock) in the neighbourhood, and there enclosed himself in a strong entrenchment, open only to the sea. Round this entrenchment Caesar actually carried a double line of counter-rampart through an arc of seventeen miles; and thus 'presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a superior force, commanded by the most experienced general of the age, blockaded in the centre of the country which he had himself chosen for the campaign.' (Merivale.)

It is apparently at this juncture, when Caesar's fortune seemed most triumphant, that the present letter—not at all an unkind one, though Dolabella already meant to divorce Tullia (see note 3 of the next letter)—is written to induce

Cicero to withdraw in time. It is exceedingly stilted and verbose, like most of the formal letters of the Romans.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 402-408; Merivale, ii. pp. 247-268; Abeken, p. 305; Forsyth, p. 380; Froude, Caesar, ch. 22.

- 1 I hope that you, like Tullia and myself, are quite well. Terentia has been comparatively indisposed, but I am informed beyond doubt that she is now quite recovered. With that exception everything at your house is going on most satisfactorily.

Although there has never been a time in which I could with any justice be met by you with the suspicion that it was more for the sake of our party than of yourself that I advised you either to join Caesar and the rest of us, or else at any rate to betake yourself to some tranquil spot, most particularly now, when the scales have already dipped towards victory, I cannot possibly lay myself open to any criticism of my motives, except that which represents me as recommending you a course, which duty forbids me to leave unsaid¹. Will you then, my dear Cicero, so receive what I have to say that, whether it is to meet with your approval or your disapproval, you will at any rate confess yourself convinced that both these reflections and the present statement of them have originated only in the sincerest and most devoted feelings towards yourself?

- 2 You have before your eyes the fact that neither the greatness of his name and of his achievements, nor yet the patronage he exercises over divers kings and peoples, of which he used so often to make his boast², have been a

¹ In spite of the clumsy verbiage of this sentence the meaning ought not to present any difficulty. The apodosis clearly begins at '*præcipue nunc*,' which is opposed to '*nullo tempore*,' and it would be better to add a comma after '*nunc*,' '*iam inclinata victoria*' being explanatory of it. '*In aliam incidere opinionem*' is thus opposed to '*in suspicionem venire*,' of which it is the weaker form, an antithesis which would be utterly destroyed by the feeble rendering '*to come to any other opinion*.' '*In eam in qua*' is only an awkward periphrasis for '*ut*' or '*quod*.'

² He was called the '*king of kings*.' See Mommsen, iv. 2. 402; Merivale, ii. 239-40.

protection to Pompeius himself: nay more, that to him alone is denied what to his meanest private has not been denied—the chance of an honourable retreat;—chased from Italy, the Spanish Provinces lost, his veteran army captured, finally himself now blockaded, which I should think has probably never happened to any Roman general before. Use your good judgment therefore and consider what hopes either he or you can have; for this will be the easiest way of arriving at that decision which will be most to your advantage. Now I have this request to make of you, that supposing he has by this time extricated himself from the present danger and hidden himself away in his fleet, you will consult your own interests, and think it time at last to be your own friend rather than anybody else's. You have already paid your claims in full whether of duty or of intimacy: you have even paid those of your party, and of that form of constitution which you considered the best. What remains for us is to range ourselves wherever the constitution of the day is found, rather than be following in search of the old one only to find ourselves under none at all.

If therefore, my dearest friend, it should happen that Pompeius is driven from these parts too, and forced to betake himself to some other country, I should hope that you would withdraw, say to Athens, or to any undisturbed city you please: and if you intend to take this course I trust that you will write to me, so that I, if in any way I possibly can, may fly to your side. Anything which it will be necessary, in order for you to assert your position, to obtain our general's consent to, it will be perfectly easy—so great is Caesar's courtesy—for you to obtain from him yourself; and yet I think that my entreaties will be found to have not the least valuable influence with him.

I may add that in honour and good feeling you will no doubt see that the bearer whom I send with this is allowed to pass the lines again, and that he brings me back a letter from you.

LXXVIII. (AD ATT. XI. 4.)

FROM CICERO IN POMPEIUS'S CAMP AT PETRA TO ATTICUS AT
ROME.

July, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

Between the time of this and the preceding letter the fortune of war had apparently changed. In Caesar's two lines of rampart a small part was yet uncompleted when an attack, based on information from deserters, was made by Pompeius, and the line of entrenchment broken. It was necessary for Caesar at once to retire, first to Apollonia, and then to Thessaly, where the war was finally decided in the great battle of Pharsalus. See Introduction to the next letter.

There is a distinct difference of tone between the two sections of this letter, which has occasioned the suspicion that it is a compound of two, written at different times, or at least that the latter half is a postscript after the temporary success of Petra. Cicero was left behind in ill health at Dyrrachium when Pompeius and his army followed Caesar, and was there at the time of the battle of Pharsalus.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 408-412; Merivale, ii. 274-280; Forsyth, p. 381; Froude, Caesar, p. 382.

- 1 I have received a letter brought by Isidorus, and also two of later date. I find from the latest one that the farms have not been sold; so will you see about making some provision for maintenance? As far as regards the one at Frusino¹ the arrangement will be a convenient one for me—that is if we are to be allowed to exist. You ask what has become of my letters, but I am stopped by sheer want of matter, having nothing at all worth putting on paper; since I find myself equally unable to be satisfied with accidental results and the deliberate acts. Oh, if I could myself have seen you long ago, instead of being obliged to communicate by letter! I am keeping an eye on your property here, as far as I can among these creatures—I refer you to Celer. As for myself, I have hitherto avoided any official position—all the more because there was nothing which would in any way suit myself or my interests.

¹ A town in Latium, now Frosinone. Mr. Forsyth is unhappy in both forms, which he gives as 'Frusinum' and 'Frussilone.'

Since you are anxious to know what has happened in the way of news, you will be able to learn this from Isidorus. It is not probable that for the rest of our task the difficulties are greater. You, I hope, will take particular care about what you know I have most at heart, as you tell me you will, and as you are now doing². Mental anxiety is wearing me out, which is causing me also extreme bodily weakness: but when this is relieved I shall keep with the general, who is very busy, and full of confidence. Brutus³ is very friendly: he is engaging vigorously in the cause. This is as far as I can go in a letter with prudence. Good-bye.

P.S. As to paying a second instalment⁴, I entreat you to use the greatest care in considering the question what I must do, as I said in the letter which Pollex took.

² This probably means the care which Atticus was taking of Tullia.

³ See Merivale, ii. p. 225. This is Marcus Iunius Brutus (see Letter xiii. note 2); Decimus Brutus was one of Caesar's best generals.

⁴ Cicero refers to Tullia's dowry on her marriage with Dolabella, which was due on the 1st of July. She was afterwards divorced by him; and Cicero's reluctance to pay is probably because this already seemed likely to happen, and it might be difficult, as afterwards was indeed the case, to recover the money.

PART IV.

THE REIGN OF CAESAR.

PART IV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS (Aug. 9, 48 B.C.) TO THE
MURDER OF CAESAR (MARCH 15, 44 B.C.)

LXXIX. (AD ATT. XI. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in November, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

After the important disaster of Dyrrachium which so nearly imperilled all Caesar's hopes (see Introduction to the preceding letter), he was forced to retreat towards Thessaly. With great difficulty he effected, in spite of the efforts of Pompeius, a junction on the borders with the two legions under Domitius Calvinus. The two main divisions of Pompeius's army united at Larissa, the capital of Thessaly, and amounted to a force of no less than 47,000 men and 7,000 horse, or more than double that of Caesar. The battle was fought on the 9th of August, near the town of Pharsalus on the river Enipeus, about twenty-five miles S. of Larissa, where Caesar gained the decisive victory which made him absolute master of Rome. Pompeius, though his situation was still anything but desperate, fled to the coast, and took ship for Cilicia, and thence for Egypt; where, on September 28, he was treacherously murdered by the ministers who ruled for the young king Ptolemæus the Twelfth. His death is mentioned somewhat coldly in Letter lxxx.

Cicero, as has been already mentioned, was, or pretended to be, ill at Dyrrachium at the time of the battle of Pharsalus. He was indeed in far greater danger from the furious Pompeians than from Caesar. Domitius Ahenobarbus (who fell in the battle) had already proposed a sentence of death and forfeiture of property against every senator who had remained in Italy (see Letter lxxx); and when in a rendezvous of the Senatorial party at Coryra Cato offered the command to Cicero as being the senior ex-consul, he was threatened with death on declining it, by Pompeius's elder son, Gnaeus, and apparently owed his life to the intervention of Cato. Without waiting for a permission therefore he returned to Italy, and landed at Brundisium early in November, where he remained until the following September. 'The letters to Atticus written from

Brundisium,' says Abeken, 'are the most melancholy of the whole collection.' Among other causes for bitterness was the ungenerous conduct of Quintus Cicero, of which the four succeeding letters complain so loudly; because he in making his peace with the conqueror had thrown the blame of his defection upon his brother. Cicero was moreover considerably embarrassed by the presence of his lictors, whose staves of office were still crowned with laurels for the successes in Cilicia (see Introduction to Letters xxxix, xlii, and xlvi), and so attracted more observation, in spite of which he could not bring himself to part with the now useless vestiges of his dignity.

Mommsen, iv. 2. pp. 410-425; Merivale, ii. 278-309; Abeken, 306-322; Forsyth, 379-387.

- 1 WHAT the causes are that have moved me thus—so bitter, so grievous, so strange were they—and forced me to rely as it were on an impulse of feeling rather than on any deliberate resolution I cannot describe to you without the greatest pain. At all events they were enough to have produced the result you now see. The consequence is that I do not see either what explanation I can write to you of my proceedings, or what I can ask for: you have the whole of the case before you. I perceived indeed from your letters, including both the common communication from you and several friends, and the more private one from yourself, what indeed I never was slow to see, that you, almost prostrated, I may say, by the sudden shock of my action, were looking about for fresh ways of protecting me.
- 2 As to the course you recommend in your letter, that I should come nearer you, and arrange the journey so as to pass through the towns by night, I really do not see how that could be managed; because in the first place there are no lodgings for me where I could at all properly spend the whole day, and secondly, it makes no great difference for the purpose you intend whether people see me in a town or on the road. But all the same I will take this particular plan equally with others into consideration, to see how it could be most conveniently carried out.
- 3 Owing to more illness of both mind and body than one would believe, I have not felt myself equal to the task of

writing many letters; I have merely sent answers to such people as I had heard from. Will you kindly write in my name¹ as you may think proper to Basilus, and any one besides just as you think good, and also to Servilius². That for so long a time I have not written any of you a single word, you will no doubt see from this letter, is because I lack matter, not inclination for writing.

As to your question about Vatinius, I should not want for the services either of him or of any one else if they could find in what to help me. At Patrae I found that Quintus was in a most hostile mood towards me: his son came over from Corcyra to meet him there. I suppose they have now left it and gone in the same direction as the rest.

LXXX. (AD ATT. XI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Nov. 27, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

I AM sensible that your anxiety is not only about your own prospects and those of us all alike, but is in an especial degree about me and my trouble: indeed this same trouble of mine, so far from being lessened, is positively aggravated by the fact that it includes you as another victim. It is simply what would be expected of your discernment that you feel in what topic of consolation I can find the greatest relief; because you give your approval to the step I have taken, and admit that under the circumstances there was nothing better for me to do. You add moreover this,—a trifling matter to me indeed when compared with your judgment, but not trifling in itself,—that everybody else also, that is among people whose opinion is of weight, approve of what I have done. Could I but think that this was really so I should be less troubled. But I may take it on your word? Of course I

¹ See Letter xvi. note 4.

² Now consul with Caesar. See Introduction to Letter lxxvi.

do take your word for it ; but I know how eager you are that my trouble should be lightened. It has never been a regret to me that I left the camp behind : there was such ferocity to be found in those men, such intimate alliance with savage tribes, that a proscription had been already sketched out, not of isolated individuals but of whole classes, while it had been already settled by general consent that the estates of you all were to be made the prize of his victory. I expressly say all of you ; since even about yourself there never were any but the most ferocious intentions. Consequently I never shall regret my object ; I do regret the means I adopted. A better way would have been to settle down in some country town, until such time as I should be sent for ; I should then have had fewer remarks to undergo, fewer stabs to feel inflicted : I should be spared even my present feeling of vexation. To be lying thus at Brundisium is annoying in every point of view. How is it possible for me to come nearer, as you recommend, without the official retinue given me by the nation, to deprive me of which must be simply a robbery of my rights ? I have for the present made these men when I am approaching the town go separately into the midst of the crowd with nothing but single staves, for fear of exciting an attack of the soldiery ; [at the proper time I shall resume
 3 their attendance. Will you now send word to Oppius and Balbus, because if these people were to favour the idea of my coming nearer in the same fashion as at present I would consider the question further¹.] My belief is that they will approve ; because to this they pledge themselves—that Caesar will make it his care not only to guard the rights of my position but even to add yet more to them, and they exhort me to be of good cheer, and to entertain the highest hopes. All

¹ The passage in brackets is extremely corrupt, and leaves room for widely different conjectures. Boot's emendation, which I have here translated, involves the least amount of change. '*Recipiam* (sc. *lictiores*) *tempore idoneo*. *Mitte nunc ad Oppium et Balbum, quoniam his si placeret eo modo* (= *cum lictoribus*) *propius accedere hac de re considerarem*.'

this, though they promise and give me strong assurances of it, I should feel was more beyond doubt if I had stayed behind. But I am thrusting upon you things which are now done with. Look therefore for my sake into what is still to come, and sift the question thoroughly together with the men you allude to; and if you think this is essential, and if the people in question are likely to approve, make use of Trebonius, Pansa, and anybody else, so that Caesar may be the more inclined to give his sanction to this step of mine if it is thought to have been taken at the suggestion of his own friends, and get them to write to Caesar that anything which I have done has only been done at their suggestion.

The illness of my dear Tullia and her feeble constitution is 4 to me a deadly anxiety. To her I see you have shown much attention, which is the greatest kindness you could do to me.

As to the fate of Pompeius I never had any doubt; because 5 such despair of his success had impressed itself on the minds of all the kings and peoples, that I believed wherever he betook himself this would come to pass. I cannot but lament his fall; I knew him to be, as a man, single-minded, pure, and noble.

Am I to condole with you about Fannius? He threw out 6 terribly menacing expressions about your staying behind. Lentulus Crus indeed had made himself sure of Hortensius's house, Caesar's pleasure-gardens, and the Baiae estate²! Exactly the same is done by this party, only that to the others there was no limitation at all, because everybody who had stayed in Italy was accounted an enemy. But more of this I hope when our feelings are easier.

I hear that my brother Quintus is gone to Asia to make his peace; about his son I have heard nothing. But ask Diochares, Caesar's freedman—I have not seen him myself, but he is the man who brought you your letter from Alex-

² A curious parallel to this is the popular but probably untrue story that the Admiral of the Spanish Armada, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had selected Mount Edgcumbe for his own residence.

andria:—he is reported to have seen him [either] on the road, or else already in Asia. I am expecting a letter from you, as present circumstances demand; and will you kindly see that it reaches me as soon as possible. Nov. 27.

LXXXI. (AD ATT. XI. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Jan. 3, 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

It was not long before Cicero repented of his return to Italy. Antonius, who was acting for Caesar there, informed Cicero, though in civil terms, that he could not be allowed to remain in the country. On the intercession of Dolabella however a special edict excepting him and Laelius¹ by name was issued; which in itself was both an annoyance and a danger to Cicero, since it exposed him to the certain vengeance of his party if they should ever again be triumphant, a contingency which at the present time, Caesar being now besieged in Alexandria, seemed far from improbable. See Introduction to Letter lxxxiii.

On the complaints about Quintus Cicero, whose treachery is denounced in this letter, see Introduction to Letter lxxix.

Abeken, pp. 319–320; Forsyth, p. 382.

- 1 Yes, it is quite true: I have acted both incautiously, as you say, and with greater haste than was right; and now I am without the least hope of any kind, being kept back here by the very exceptions that have been made in the edicts, which if your unwearied care and kindness had never succeeded in procuring for me, I should be free to go into some solitary spot or other: as it is, even that is denied me. What advantage again do I get from having returned before the new tribunes came into office, if the fact of my having returned is itself no advantage at all? What help moreover can I expect from a man who never was really friendly to me, when I find myself at last struck down and crushed even by process of law? Balbus's letters to me now grow daily colder: and various others from various people to the great man keep on coming—possibly to run me down. The fault was mine if I am ruined: fortune did me no ill turn at all;

¹ Not Caelius (Caelius), as Mr. Forsyth absurdly says.

I drew it all upon me by my own folly. For I had myself determined immediately on seeing the real character of the war—how everything was feeble and unprepared, and ranged against forces in perfect discipline—what was the line I would take; and had adopted a policy perhaps not so much a bold one as more legitimate for me than for any one else. I yielded to my friends, or rather I obeyed² their orders: and what the real attitude of one of those friends—the very one whom you commend to me—was you will learn from himself in the letters he has sent to you and other people. These I should never have opened but for a circumstance which occurred in the following way. A packet was brought to me: I opened it to see if there was a solitary epistle for myself: nothing, but there was a letter for Vatinius and another for Ligurius. I gave orders for them to be forwarded. Immediately in came these people in a burning rage, crying what shameful conduct it was of him: they read me their letters, which were full of every kind of insult to me. Hereupon Ligurius broke into a passion: he knew for a fact that the writer was extremely disliked by Caesar, who nevertheless had not only shown him much attention, but had given him all that sum of money as a mark of attention to me. I myself after receiving such a blow as this wanted to know what he had written to other people, because I thought that even to himself it would be ruinous, if such a crime on his part had once got abroad. Having ascertained that they were of the same character, I have sent them on to you: if you think it will be well for himself that they should be forwarded, will you forward them? It will not hurt me at all, because, as to their having been opened, Pomponia, I imagine, has his seal². He gave way to just the same outburst of temper at the commencement of our voyage, and affected me so painfully that I have since been quite prostrate; and even now they say he is trying hard not so much to benefit himself as to injure me.

² See Letter xxxi. note 4; xlii. note 4.

3 Thus you see I am burdened by troubles in every way, which I am hardly able, or in plain truth quite unable to bear: out of which miseries there is one equal in weight to all the rest put together, that I shall leave that poor child stripped of the patrimony which is her whole fortune: for which reason I should particularly wish to see you, according to your promise. I have no one else to whose care I can commend her, because I have seen that the same fate is intended for her mother as for myself³. But supposing you fail to find me, consider nevertheless that she has virtually been commended to your care, and soften her uncle towards her as far as you can.

I write this letter on my birthday. Would that on that day I never had been allowed to live, or that of my mother no other son had afterwards been born! My tears prevent me from writing more.

LXXXII. (AD ATT. XI. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 8, 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

1 This evening—the 8th of March—Cephalio has brought me a letter from you. Now it was only this very morning that I had sent off some messengers to whom I entrusted a letter for you; but still after reading yours I thought some answer to it was required; principally because you show me that you are doubtful what reason I shall assign to Caesar for my going away at the time when I left Italy. There is no need in my case of any fresh reason: I have frequently said in letters to him, or charged others to do so, that earnestly as I had desired it I could not bear the reflections that people were making, and much to that

³ Mr. Watson justly remarks that severity to women was in Roman revolutions very rare, and therefore that Cicero's apprehensions were hardly justified, even apart from the proved clemency of Caesar.

effect. For the last thing I should ever wish him to think was, that in a matter of such importance I had not acted upon my own judgment. And when I learnt at a subsequent period by a letter I received from the younger Cornelius Balbus, that in his opinion my brother Quintus had been 'the trumpet which sounded the alarm for my departure'—these were his words,—not knowing as yet what Quintus had written about me to various people (for though it is true that to my very face he had said and done a great deal in a bitter temper, yet all the same this did not deter me), I wrote to Caesar in the following terms:—

'It is not because I am less anxious for my brother Quintus 2
'than for myself if in my present condition I do not presume
'to request your consideration for him. Still this at all
'events, which I entreat you to grant, I will presume to ask
'from you; namely, not to believe that anything has been
'done by him to infringe on the full recognition of your claims
'upon me, or weaken my regard for you: on the contrary
'that he has always endeavoured to promote a closer con-
'nection between us, and that when I did depart, if he was
'my companion, he was not my leader. On any occasions
'therefore that may arise you will not, I am sure, refuse to
'accord him all that your own courtesy and your mutual
'regard demands. As for myself, that I may not in any
'way injure him in your good opinion is what I plead for
'again and again with all the strength I possess.'

Supposing therefore that I have later on had some kind 3
of an interview with Caesar, though I entertain no doubt—
this indeed he has already shown—that he will be disposed to
treat him with kindness, yet for myself I shall be what I
have always been. But I see that we ought to be much
more concerned about Africa, which you tell me ~~indeed~~ is
daily gathering such strength as to encourage our hopes,
probably rather of some agreement than of a victory. May
it prove to be so! My reading of the situation however is
widely different, and I imagine that even you so take it in

your heart, though your letters represent things in another light, not to deceive, but to encourage me; especially as Spain must be taken into account as well as Africa.

- 4 As to your advice that I should write to Antonius and to the rest of them, will you kindly do for me what you have often done before, if there is anything hereafter which you consider essential? Nothing has suggested itself to me that I consider it necessary to write about. When people tell you that I am less depressed in spirits, what is your own opinion when you see these glorious proceedings of my son-in-law coming on the top of my previous burdens¹? Still I should hope you would never forget to write to me to the fullest extent of your opportunities for so doing, even whenever you have no special subject for writing about, because your letters always bring me some advantage.

I have formally accepted Galeo's legacy; for I imagine I was the only person who had to accept, since no notice of any one else doing so has reached me². March 8.

LXXXIII. (AD FAM. XV. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN
THE CAMP OF CAESAR AT ALEXANDRIA (?).

July or August (f), 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

After the battle of Pharsalus Caesar accepted the submission of most of his opponents, including the recipient of this letter, Gaius Cassius, afterwards one of his murderers, whom he took on to his own staff; Marcus Brutus, whom he made Governor of Cisalpine Gaul; and Marcus Marcellus, who had so largely contributed to the immediate rupture; and many others. Following

¹ Dolabella, who like Clodius had been adopted into a plebeian family in order to be elected tribune, and was now taking up the rôle of Caelius Rufus (see Introduction to Letter lxxvi), proposed again a cancelling of rents and loans, and thus caused several riots, which were at once stopped on Caesar's return. Mommsen, iv. 2. 460; Merivale, ii. p. 330; Abeken, p. 322.

² Mr. Watson after Boot turns this passage: 'I imagine that it is an acceptance and nothing more, since no legacy has reached me.' The majority of

Pompeius then with all speed, he arrived at Alexandria only a few days after the murder had been committed. A struggle for the Egyptian crown was at this time going on between the younger Ptolemaeus and his sister Cleopatra, whom, according to Oriental usage, he had married. When Caesar claimed to decide the dispute in the name of the Republic, a cry of national independence was raised, and the populace, who supported a younger sister, Arsinoe, blockaded Caesar in the island of Pharos, where again he was within an ace of destruction (see Introduction to Letter lxxxi). Relief at length came from Mithradates of Pergamus, and on the 27th of March the Egyptian army was routed in the battle of the Nile, and Cleopatra made Queen of Egypt.

In Asia Minor Pharnaces, a son of the great Mithradates, had seized the provinces which once belonged to his father; and Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's able lieutenant, was unable to hold him in check. Caesar therefore left Alexandria in July, and gained a decisive victory at Zela, or Ziela, in Pontus, on the 3rd of August; after which he returned to Rome. It was on this occasion that he is said to have sent his celebrated despatch, '*Veni, vidi, vici.*'

The present letter seems to have been written before the news of this victory arrived, but after the Alexandrine war, and therefore may probably be dated July or August.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 418-433; Merivale, ii. 309-335.

Although the hope of peace and horror of bloodshed among 1 our own countrymen made both of us equally wish to abstain from obstinate persistence in the war, yet since I, as it seems, was the first to insist on this policy, I may perhaps be expected rather to furnish you with advice than look to you for it: yet, as I often remind myself, my friendly arguments with you and yours with me have equally availed to bring both of us to the same conclusion—the opinion, I mean, that it would be well to let a single battle determine, if not the whole cause, at any rate our own decision. Nor has any one in fact ever blamed us for this opinion, except those people who hold it better that the Republic should be entirely overthrown than continue to exist under a weakened and mutilated form; while I of course had no hope to look forward to from its extinction, much from such remains as were left.

commentators however render as above. Mr. Watson is mistaken in saying that the word to be supplied is some such one as '*epistola*,' which would be impossible. The word supplied is clearly '*cretio*;' and '*no other acceptance*' for '*no other notice of acceptance*' is an easy ellipse. But it is impossible to decide with certainty between the explanations.

2 But the subsequent events have been of such a nature, that it is more surprising they could ever have come to pass at all than that we should neither have been able to foresee their occurrence, nor, being but human, foretell the future. For my own part I confess it was my belief after that great battle on which, one may say, hung the issues of fate, that not only were the conquerors disposed to consult the national interest, but the conquered to consult their own, holding however that both events rested on the assumption that the victor would act with all speed; and had this been the case, Africa would have found his clemency to be no less than was the experience of Asia, and even I may safely say of Achaia, seeing that it had yourself, I believe, as its spokesman and apologist. Now however that we have let the right moment slip—a thing of the greatest importance, particularly in a civil war—the lapse of a year has beguiled some into hopes of a victory, others into thinking lightly even of their defeat. Moreover it is chance which must bear the blame of all these untoward circumstances; for who could suppose either that the time consumed in the Alexandrian war would have to be added to the length of this war, or that this Pharnaces, or whatever 3 they call him, would be able to threaten Asia? Nevertheless you and I have found that an identical policy has ended in a difference of fate: for the party you have joined is one where you could not only take part in deliberation, but—and this is the greatest alleviation of anxiety—have an opportunity of seeing beforehand what was intended to be done: I, who hastened to Italy to meet Caesar there (for that was what we expected) and spur, as the proverb says, the horse who is going well, and already after extending his protection to so many of our most distinguished men returning of himself on the road to peace, both was and am kept widely apart from him. My way meanwhile lies in the very midst of the groans of Italy, and the piteous lamentations of the city, which we both of us could have done something to relieve in our own way, you in yours and I in mine, if any one had been here to give

us authority. So I hope that you with your unfailing kindness will write to me about your own views and inclinations, and your opinion as to what we ought to wait for or what to do. Your letter will be of great consequence to me. And, oh that I had followed the advice of your first one, which you sent me from Luceria! Then I should without the least annoyance have kept up the dignity of my position.

LXXXIV. (AD ATT. XII. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM TO ATTICUS AT ONE OF HIS
SUBURBAN VILLAS.

May 25, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

In September 47 B.C. Caesar landed at Tarentum, whither Cicero hastened to meet him, and though he does not mention the interview in his letters, we learn from Plutarch that he was treated with the utmost courtesy. He then left Brundisium for Tusculum, where he stayed some weeks, and at last, resigning all hope of a triumph, entered the walls of Rome for the first time since he left it in the year 51 to be Governor of Cilicia. For the next two years he divided his time principally between Rome and Tusculum, and, abstaining in general from politics, wrote several of his philosophical works.

Caesar remained in Italy barely two months (see Merivale, ii. p. 351), where he quelled a serious mutiny in Campania, and accepted from the obsequious Senate the consulship for 46 B.C. in conjunction with Lepidus. He then left for Africa, where the Senatorial party was now endeavouring to reorganise its shattered forces.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 439-441; Merivale, ii. pp. 336-351; Abeken, pp. 324-330; Forsyth, pp. 388-9.

It being now eleven days since I left you, I am scrawling ¹ this little bit of a note just as I am leaving my country-house before it is light. I think of being at my place at Anagnia to-day, and Tusculum to-morrow; only one day there, so that I shall come up all right to time; and, oh, if I could but run on at once to embrace my Tullia and give Attica a kiss! Talking of this, by the by, do please write and let me know while I am stopping at Tusculum what her prattle is like, or, if she is away in the country, what her letters to you are about. Meanwhile either send

or give her my love, and Pilia too. And even though we shall meet immediately, yet will you write to me anything you can find to say?

- 2 P.S. I was just fastening up this letter, but your courier has arrived here after a long night-journey with your letter. I was very sorry, you may be sure, to find on reading it that Attica is feverish. Everything else that I was waiting for I now know from your note; but when you tell me that to have a little fire in the morning '*sent le vieillard*,' I retort *il le sent plus* for one's poor memory to begin to totter: because it was the 29th I had promised to Axius; the 30th to you; and the day of my arrival, the 31st, to Quintus. So take that for yourself—you shall have no news. Then what on earth is the good of writing? And what good is it when we are together and chatter whatever comes to our tongue? Surely there is something in *causerie* after all; if there is nothing under it, there is always at least the delicious feeling of simply talking to one another.

LXXXV. (AD ATT. XII. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT ONE OF HIS
SUBURBAN VILLAS.

April (?), 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

In November Caesar left Rome to crush the last vestige of opposition in Africa. The rendezvous of the Senatorial party was fixed at first at Utica, on the bay of Carthage, but afterwards this city was entrusted to Cato, and the quarters moved southward to Adrumetum. The nominal generalissimo was Scipio, but Juba, King of Mauretania, who had destroyed Curio (Introduction to Letter lxxvi), knowing his aid to be indispensable, treated the Romans with great insolence. Part of Juba's forces being diverted by the attacks of Publius Sittius on his dominions, and fresh reinforcements having arrived, Caesar at length gave battle at Thapsus, sixteen miles from his camp, on the 4th of April and again won a decisive victory. Scipio, Cato, and Juba all committed suicide; and Caesar returned to Italy, arriving there in July.

Since Cicero had evidently not heard the news of the battle of Thapsus when this letter was written, which would not take more than three weeks at most to arrive, it cannot (as Mr. Watson points out) be dated later than April, and should therefore precede the eighty-fourth.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 434-449; Merivale, ii. pp. 343-368.

The report here is that Statius Murcus has been lost in a shipwreck; that Asinius has fallen into the hands of the soldiery, who are keeping him prisoner; that fifty ships have been carried into Utica owing to the violence of this gale; that Pompeius is nowhere to be seen, and, according to the account of Paciaecus, has never even been in the Balearic Islands at all; but not a soul can positively vouch for anything. I give you here what people have been saying while you are away. Meanwhile the games are on at Praeneste. Hirtius² and all the set are there, and indeed there are to be eight days of games. Feasting and enjoying themselves like this, and meanwhile very likely the crisis has been decided! What strange creatures! As for Balbus—*que voulez-vous?*—he is amusing himself with building. However, if you ask me, when a man's object is not duty but enjoyment *n'a-t-il pas assez vécu?* You yourself all the time are taking a nap: *il faut dénouer*, and that at once if you are to do any good. If you ask me for my opinion I say enjoy while we may¹. But no need for more; I shall see you immediately. You will, I hope, after your journey straight to my house; then we will arrange together a day for Tyrannio², and anything else there may be.

LXXXVI. (AD FAM. IX. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO AT
TUSCULUM.

June, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Varro, the greatest of all Roman scholars, after his failure as a general in Spain (see Introduction to Letter lxxvi) went over to Greece, and

¹ If 'fructum' be the true reading, Cicero probably means that after all those are wisest who trouble least about their country, and care for themselves. Weenberg suggests 'fractum,' alluding no doubt to the younger Pompeius, in which case the knot that Atticus was called on to untie was whether he would abet the last struggle against Caesar or not, Cicero giving provisionally his own opinion that it is hopeless.

² From Ad Att. xii. 6 it seems that Tyrannio, a grammarian, was to read to Cicero and Atticus a new work on accents.

was one of the many who made submission to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus. Caesar wisely as well as generously engaged his services in superintending the formation of his great new library at Rome. The date of this letter is probably late in June, since the 7th of July would be about the time that Caesar would be expected to land in Italy.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 592; Merivale, ii. p. 403.

- 1 Yes, I think that the 7th will be quite early enough, not only taking into account the state of public affairs, but even the time of year. So I agree to your day, and of course I shall keep to the same one myself.
- 2 I should be far from thinking that we ought to regret our determination, even if those who did not adopt it had no cause to regret that now. It was the call of duty, not hope of advantage, that led us on, while what we turned our backs on was not duty, but the absence of all hope. So that we were really more sensitive to the touch of honour than those who did not move from home; more clear-headed than those who did not return home after they had spent all their resources. But there is nothing I am so impatient of as criticism from those who stopped at their ease; and whatever is the real state of the case, I pay more honour to those who fell in the war than attention to those who are discontented with us
- 3 because we presume to exist. Should I have an opportunity of getting to Tusculum before the 7th I will see you there; if that fails I will go after you to your house at Cumae, and let you have notice beforehand, so that everything may be ready for having a bath.

LXXXVII. (AD FAM. IX. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT TUSCULUM TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PAETUS IN CAMPANIA.

Late in July, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Lucius Paetus was a learned and well-to-do friend of Cicero, to whom he wrote many amusing and chatty letters (*Ad Fam.* ix. 15-26), touching little on politics, but much on dining. He is mentioned in *Letter ix.* § 12.

Considering that Tullia had already left Dolabella's house, and that a divorce

between them was imminent—it certainly took place before Dolabella left for Spain—it is amazing to find Cicero living on intimate terms with his worthless son-in-law. Hirtius, who here appears only as a *bon vivant*, rose into political importance in the next period, after his election to the consulship. The date of this letter is approximately fixed, as Mr. Watson points out, by Caesar's return to Rome from Africa on July 26; Abeken erroneously gives it as written in June. It was probably sent from Tusculum, and not from Rome; 'hic' (§ 4), as Mr. Watson says, need not mean more than 'in these parts,' including, that is, both Rome and Tusculum.

Abeken, p. 330; Forsyth, p. 392; Dict. Biog. i. p. 1060.

I was staying in my house at Tusculum and taking a 1 holiday because I had sent my 'pupils' to meet this friend of theirs¹, so that they might thereby as far as possible gain his good graces for me too, when your most affectionate and delightful letter reached me. I perceive from it that you approve of my scheme of opening a kind of school, now that [owing to the abolition of the law-courts²] I have lost my throne at the Bar; just as they say that Dionysius, being expelled from his kingdom at Syracuse, started a school at Corinth³. Well, I must say I am pleased with it too, because 2 it gives me many advantages: principally—which is now of the very greatest importance—I am throwing up an entrenchment for myself against the dangers of the times. Of what quality this may be I do not know; I only see that no one has struck out a plan which I prefer to it, unless perhaps a better way was to die. That I grant on one's own bed⁴, but such was not my fate; as to the field of battle I was not on it. The others at any rate—Pompeius, your friend

¹ These 'pupils' of Cicero in rhetoric are Hirtius and Dolabella, and the 'friend' of course is Caesar, who was just at this time returning in triumph from the conclusion of the African war.

² The Roman judicial system, though near falling by its own corruption, was never abolished, and only partially reformed, by Caesar. Perhaps Cicero (if the words are genuine) only refers to the natural stoppage of justice in the troubles of the Civil War, or he may be using an exaggeration, as if all free institutions were gone. See Mommsen, iv. 2. 485, and Mr. Watson's note here.

³ See Letter lxii. note 1.

⁴ See Letter lxxi. note 9. Cicero was ill in bed at the time of the battle of Pharsalus. Compare Introduction to Letter lxxviii.

Lentulus, Afranius, and Scipio—all came to an ignominious end⁵. But Cato's was a noble one? Well, this suggestion at any rate we can adopt whenever we like; only let us take precautions not to make it as much the only possibility for us as it was for him, which is just what I am doing.

- 3 That then is the first thing; next comes this—that I myself am getting better: in my health, to begin with, which had been seriously injured by the temporary loss of this kind of exercise; and secondly, any facility of speaking I may have ever had would have been dried up at the source if I had not betaken myself to the exercise of it again. Lastly, there is this—which you probably would consider first—I have lately been demolishing more peacocks than you have paltry little pigeons! You are regaling over there on Haterius's *saws*, I here on Hirtius's *saucers*⁶. So come like a good man and true, and learn from me the 'Prolegomena' of your ambition; though it will be like the pig who taught Minerva⁷. But I will see that some means shall have been found.
- 4 If you cannot sell your valuation-holdings and get a good pot-full of silver you must migrate back to Rome: indigestion in these parts is a better ending than famine in yours. I see that you have diminished your income, and expect that all your friends over there find it the same. So it is all up

⁵ For the fate of Pompeius see Introduction to Letter lxxix. Metellus Scipio after the battle of Thapsus endeavoured to escape to Spain, but, his small squadron being overpowered by Publius Sittius, a *condottiere* acting for Caesar, committed suicide; Afranius attempted to escape into Mauretania, but also fell into the hands of Sittius, and was put to death. The Lentulus here alluded to may be either Lentulus Crus, consul of 49 B.C., or Lentulus Spinther, consul 57 B.C. The former was murdered in prison by the agents of the young king Ptolemaeus; the latter is spoken of by Cicero (Phil. xiii. 14. 29) as having been lost to his friends in the Civil War, and he may have perished unhappily, like nearly all the leaders of the Senatorial party. Mommsen, iv. 2. 446; Merivale, ii. 328, 359–366.

⁶ Haterius was no doubt a lawyer, but nothing is known of him. The play on *iūs* is one of Cicero's stock puns; a better known form of it is the '*iūs Verrinum*' (Verr. iii. 46).

⁷ This proverb seems rather a favourite with Cicero; it is found also in Acad. Post. i. 18; De Oratore, ii. 233.

with you unless you look to the future. You can manage to make your way to Rome on the mule you tell me you still have left, since your cob is gone to provide you a dinner! There shall be a chair for you just by me in my school as my usher; and it shall be followed by a cushion.

LXXXVIII. (AD FAM. VII. 3.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS MARIUS, PROBABLY AT POMPEII.

July or August, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Marius, a member of the family of the great Marius though of different politics, was an intimate friend of Cicero, being like him a native of Arpinum, and one of his nearest neighbours at Pompeii. The present rather elaborate letter in vindication of Cicero's present abstention from politics scarcely bears out the remark of the Dictionary of Biography (ii. p. 959) that 'the four letters to him (Ad Fam. vii. 1-4) are written in a sportive tone.'

This and the seven succeeding letters illustrate, perhaps more fully than was necessary, Cicero's phases of feeling during Caesar's stay in Rome as Dictator for the third time, and between the two great battles of Thapsus and Munda. Of the far-reaching nature of Caesar's legislation at this period he seems entirely unconscious, but warmly praises his generosity to opponents.

On Caesar's legislation see Mommsen, book v. ch. ii. (Mommsen however attributes more to Caesar than the evidence strictly warrants); Merivale, vol. ii. ch. 20; Watson, Appendix ix. p. 487.

Thinking as I very often do of the national calamities through which our way has been these many years, and must still, I see full well, continue to lie, the recollection constantly comes back to my mind of the last time we two were together: nay, I can tell you the very day. It was on the 13th of May, in the year when Lentulus and Marcellus were consuls¹, that arriving one evening at my house at Pompeii I found you already there in much anxiety of mind. Now your anxiety arose partly from concern about what was incumbent upon me, but also from the thought of the risk I

¹ 49 B.C. The incident is mentioned in Letter lxxiv. § 4, and is there said to have occurred on the 12th. Either therefore Cicero's memory was less accurate than he supposed, or *iiii* in that passage should be corrected to *iii*.

was running. If I were to stay in Italy, this, you feared, might be a neglect of duty; if I were to go to the war you were disturbed by the risk. And on this occasion you no doubt saw that I too was so agitated that I could not solve the problem, what would be the best thing to do; still I preferred to bow to loyalty and to public opinion rather than take into account what was safest for myself.

- 2 Now if I have repented of that resolution, it is not so much on account of any danger to myself as of the many things I found to censure on my arrival. In the first place the troops were neither numerous, nor eager for battle; then, with the exception of our chief himself and a few others, all—I am speaking of the more prominent men—were in the first place so rapacious in battle, and secondly so savage in their conversation, that I positively dreaded our success; and to add to this, the debts even of men who were in the very highest position were enormous. In short, they had nothing to recommend them beyond their cause. Having seen all this then, and entertaining no hope of a victory, I at first attempted to give pacific counsels, which had always had my approval; afterwards seeing that Pompeius strongly dissented from my opinion I adopted the policy of recommending him to protract the war. Of this course he was at times inclined to approve, and by this opinion it seemed probable that he would abide, as indeed he very possibly would have done had he not after his success in a particular attack² begun to feel confident of the soldiers under his command. Thenceforward that peerless man became a mere cipher as a general. He gave battle with a motley army of raw recruits to the most irresistible legions, and, being defeated, fled all alone in the most disgraceful manner, actually abandoning his camp.
- 3 This I determined should be an end of service for me, not thinking it likely that we, who had been too weak

² This refers to the successful attack which broke up Caesar's camp at Dyrrachium. See Introduction to Letter lxxviii.

when our forces were unbroken, should ever be the victors after this crushing blow. I would have no more to do with a war in which one only had the choice of falling on the field of battle, falling into a snare, running away to king Juba, selecting some place in which to live like a banished man, or dying by one's own hand. At least no other alternative was possible, unless you were either not unwilling or not afraid to trust yourself to the conqueror.

Now of all the disagreeable courses I have mentioned, the least intolerable is a banishment, particularly for an innocent man, and where there is no disgrace attached: I may add when it means separation from a city, in which nothing is left that you can look on without pain. For myself I chose rather to remain with my own dear ones—if anything now is anybody's own,—and surrounded moreover by my own possessions.

Everything that has happened I said would come to pass. ⁴ I came home, not as though one would live there under the happiest conditions, but that I might regard myself as living, if any shadow of the Republic was to be preserved, in my own country; if not, as in a sort of exile. For deliberately hastening my own death I saw no reason; for longing for it a great deal of reason; it is, you know, an old saying,

When we are not what we were,
Still to live why should we care?⁵

But yet it is a great solace to have a clear conscience, particularly as I have a double support to lean upon: familiarity with the noblest branches of learning, and the fame that attends on glorious deeds. Of the former I shall never be deprived so long as I live; of the latter, not even when I am dead.

I have been somewhat prolix in writing thus to you, and ⁵ have tried your patience, because I feel sure of your strong attachment both to myself and to the Republic. I was

⁵ This saying is probably quoted from one of the old dramas.

anxious that you should be made acquainted with the whole of my views, so that you might see in the first place that it has never been my wish that the power of any single individual should outweigh that of his whole country, whereas after a certain person was to blame for making one man so strong that it was impossible to resist him, my wish was all for peace; when our army was lost, and the one general on whom our hopes rested, that I wanted every one else to join me, and failing in this attempt, chose for myself the policy of having nothing more to do with war; that as to the present, if this is a free country, then I am a free citizen; if not, I am an exile living in a place quite as convenient as if I had betaken myself to Rhodes or Mytilene.

6 I should have preferred to keep this until we meet; but as it was now getting a long time I have purposely put just what I should say into a letter, so that you might have an answer to give if you ever came across any of my detractors; because there are certain people who, though my death was never likely to be of service to the Republic, yet hold it as a kind of imputation on my character that I still exist—people, as I myself know for a fact, who think that the victims that have already fallen are not enough. Even these, if they had but listened to me, might now have been alive, and without dishonour, however hard the terms of peace, for it would not have been their cause but only their swords that would have been proved inferior.

Here then is a letter for you of more pages perhaps than you would have bargained for, and I shall fancy you think it is so unless I find that you write me a still longer answer. I myself shall see you, I hope, in a short time, if I can despatch some matters I am desirous of completing⁴.

⁴ The allusion is no doubt purposely obscure. It may refer to Tullia's divorce from Dolabella, or to Cicero's unsatisfactory relations with Terentia, and the money difficulties in which he declared that she had involved him.

LXXXIX. (AD FAM. IX. 17.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PAETUS IN
CAMPANIA.

August, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letter lxxxvii, and Abeken, p. 336.

WHAT an odd man you are to ask me, after you have had 1 a visit from our good friend Balbus, what I think they will do with the country-towns and farms in your neighbourhood! As if I were either likely to know anything which that gentleman is unacquainted with, or as if whenever I do know anything I did not generally get my knowledge entirely from him. On the contrary, be sure an you love me that you let me know what they are going to do about us: you have had at your mercy a man who would let you tap his information, at least when the wine was in if not when he was dry. But such matters as these, my dear Paetus, I never inquire into: in the first place because I have every reason to be satisfied with being alive these last four years or so, so far as one can call this a satisfaction, or even a life at all, namely to be the survivor of a country that has lost her freedom; and secondly, because I fancy that I know just as well as anybody else what must come: those who are in power will always have their will, and power will now always go by the sword. Whatever is left to us therefore we ought to be satisfied with; any one who could not put up with this, was in duty bound to die. At any rate they are taking measure- 2 ments of the lands about Veii and Capena; this is no great distance from Tusculum¹. Still I have no fears; I enjoy while I may, and hope that I always may. If that hope

¹ Veii, the old antagonist of Rome, and about twelve miles N.W. from it, is now Isola Farnese; Capena was on the right bank of the Tiber, near Mount Soracte. Both are therefore on the side of Rome farthest from Tusculum.

falls short of being accomplished, still since, for all my stout heart and my philosophy too, I have concluded life to be the brightest jewel, I cannot but love a man whose kindness has let me win it: though he is one who, if he were to be most eager for a free constitution, such as perhaps he himself admires, and all of us are bound to prefer, has nevertheless no power of action at all; so deeply has he entangled himself with any number of people.

- 3 But I am running into unnecessary length, because it is you to whom I am writing. Of this however you may be sure, that not only I, who am not taken into council, but even our lord himself does not know what will happen, for if we are slaves to him, so is he to circumstances; consequently he can no more know what circumstances will demand of him than we what he is thinking of doing. If I did not send you this answer before, it is not that I am usually neglectful, particularly in the matter of letters, but as I knew nothing for certain, I was unwilling either to create anxiety in you by my hesitation, or hope by my assertions. I will however add this, which is most unquestionably true, that as matters stand up to the present time I have heard nothing about that danger you allude to. Still, for a man of your wisdom it will be only right to hope for the best issue, be prepared for the hardest, and bear whatever is to happen.

XC. (AD FAM. IV. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS IN

ACHAIA.

September, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Servius Sulpicius, to whom this letter is addressed, was consul together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose pardon by Caesar is here described, in the important year 51 B.C. (see Introduction to Letter xxxi). He was a celebrated jurist and orator, but somewhat colourless politician of the 'moderate Conservative' party; and apparently took little or no part in the war. But Mr. Long's inference (*Dict. Biog.* iii. 946) that he was a partizan of Caesar, on the ground of his now being made—apparently against his own inclination—proconsul of Achaia, is not justified; Marcus Brutus, for example, having

been made Governor of Cisalpine Gaul. See Introduction to Letter lxxxiii; Merivale, ii. 340-342. And everything in the letter seems to show that he and Cicero agreed in their views. The province of Achaia, which must have been but recently separated from the unwieldy one of Macedonia, comprehended the whole of Southern Greece, and Sulpicius was not only its first Governor, but probably had the task of organising the province. Two letters of Sulpicius are extant (Nos. xcvi and ci), the former of which is the celebrated letter of consolation on Tullia's death; the other describes the murder of this Marcellus. Letter xcix is addressed to him.

It is a disputed point whether the extant oration 'Pro Marcello' is the one actually delivered by Cicero on this occasion, but a majority of the commentators maintain its genuineness.

Long's Cicero, vol. iv. pp. 349-352; Merivale, ii. p. 412, and note on Abeken, p. 330; Abeken, p. 341; Forsyth, p. 393.

I accept the excuse you have offered for yourself, for ¹ sending me the same letter more than once; but I only accept so far as includes your reason, that the letters may possibly fail to reach me through some negligence or breach of faith on the part of those who undertake to despatch them. The other half of your plea, in which you allege that from 'poverty of language'—this is your own term—you often repeat the same letter over again, I neither understand nor admit as valid. Why, even I myself, whom you ironically—for so, I suppose, you mean it—describe as possessing 'the key to the treasures of language,' am not obliged to confess myself—for is there any call for a *fausse modestie*?—so absolutely devoid of a command of words: however, even as I am—there is no *fausse modestie*, I assure you, in this—I at once yield the palm to the refinement and elegance which characterise your writings.

Those grounds upon which you say you have acted in ² deciding not to refuse the work that has been offered you in Achaia, though they have always seemed to me to be strong, were yet much strengthened in my opinion after I had read your last letter; because every one of the reasons you allege is perfectly just, and perfectly in accordance with your high position and sound judgment. What I cannot at all agree with you in is your opinion that the result has proved to be

different from what you expected; but the fact is that the chaos and confusion is so universal, and everything is lying so shattered and beaten down by this horrible war, that everybody thinks that the particular place where he happens to be is like himself more afflicted than any other. Accordingly you not only regret your decision, but regard all of us at home as being very fortunate; to us on the contrary you seem to be, not indeed exempt from annoyances, but still fortunate in comparison with ourselves. Moreover this in itself is a point where your lot has an advantage over ours, that you can venture to speak of your annoyance in a letter; we cannot even do that with safety; not that for this our conqueror is to blame—it would be impossible to be more moderate than he is—but simply the fact of victory, which in a civil war is invariably tyrannical. In one respect only we have had the advantage; in hearing namely of the restoration of your colleague Marcellus¹ a little earlier than you, and also, upon my honour, in seeing how that result was brought about. For believe me when I say that since these troubles began—that is since might was called in to decide a national question of right—this is the one dignified proceeding that has taken place. For Caesar himself, after complaining of the ‘acrimony’—this was the word he used—of Marcellus, and speaking in most complimentary terms of your fairness and discretion, suddenly announced his determination, which we scarcely hoped for, not to let his personal relations to Marcellus make him refuse the entreaty of the Senate on his behalf. I should say that when Lucius Piso had called attention to the case of Marcellus, and Gaius Marcellus² had gone on his knees to Caesar, the Senate went so far as to rise in a body, and approach Caesar in an attitude of entreaty. Well, I will

¹ This is Marcus Marcellus, Sulpicius’ colleague as consul for the year 51 B.C.

² On the question whether this Gaius was the brother or the cousin of Marcus Marcellus see Letter xcv. note 1.

only say that this day seemed to me so bright that there hovered, as it were, before my eyes a vision of the Republic springing into new life.

Consequently when all who had been asked to speak before ⁴ me ³ had expressed their gratitude to Caesar, with the exception of Volcatius ⁴, who said that if he had been in the same place he would certainly not have done the like, I changed my resolution on being asked for my opinion; for I had quite determined, not, I may solemnly assure you, from indifference, but from regret at the loss of my former position, to maintain an uninterrupted silence. This resolution of mine broke down utterly under such magnanimity on the part of Caesar and loyal self-sacrifice on that of the Senate, and accordingly I spoke at some length of our gratitude to Caesar, and am afraid that now for other occasions I may have been thus putting out of my own power that retirement without disgrace, the possession of which was my one consolation under my troubles. But all the same, since I have avoided the danger of giving offence to one who might perhaps infer that I do not recognise this as a Constitution at all if I preserved an absolute silence, I shall repeat the experiment with moderation—or even err on this side of moderation,—but only enough to gratify at once his sovereign will and my own inclinations. For although from quite early years every form of study and of liberal accomplishments, and above all philosophy, have been my delight, yet day by day this passion is mastering me more—partly, I suppose, because age makes us riper to receive lessons of wisdom, and partly because of the corruption of the

³ See Letter vi. note 7.

⁴ Lucius Volcatius Tullus, consul in 66 B.C. The next clause is understood by Orelli and some others to mean that had Volcatius been in Marcellus's place he would not have condescended to accept pardon from Caesar—a sentiment appropriate perhaps to Domitius, but utterly inappropriate to Volcatius, who was one of the neutrals. It is rather an expression of wonder at this generosity to an opponent who had treated Caesar with outrageous violence (see Introduction to Letter xxxi), and perhaps of personal dislike for Marcellus.

age—so that now there is nothing else at all which can relieve my mind from petty cares. You, I gather from your letters, are hindered by business in your literary work, but still the nights will now be a considerable help to you.

Your son Servius (ought I not rather to call him my son too?) is most respectful in paying his attentions to me. I am as much delighted with his strong sense of justice and his lofty character as with his tastes and great acquirements. He frequently comes to talk over with me the question of your staying or coming home. I am still of this opinion, that we ought to take no step at all, unless it is one that Caesar would seem distinctly to wish; things are at such a pass that if you are at Rome it can give no pleasure to any beyond your own personal friends. As for the rest, nothing could be better than he is in himself: his surroundings, persons and things, are of such a character that if you had to choose you would rather hear of them than see them with your own eyes. This advice of mine is anything but agreeable to myself, who long so much to see you; but it is your interests that I am consulting. Farewell.

XCI. (AD FAM. VI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO AULUS CAECINA IN SICILY.

About October (?), 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Aulus Caecina of Volaterrae was a son of the Caecina defended in an ejectment case by Cicero, whose speech is extant, in the year 69 B.C. He was the author of an important work on the Etruscan system of Augury (see § 3). During the war he published a vehement attack on Caesar; and as the opposition authors were now more dangerous than the opposition warriors, permission to return to Italy was refused to Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, and other pamphleteers, while it was readily accorded to the leading Pompeians. Caecina then published a retractation, probably in the form of a poem (see § 8, note 4); but whether it attained its object is doubtful.

The present letter and the answer to it are interesting in two points of view: first as illustrating the hardships of authors; and secondly because of Cicero's candid and striking admissions about the strong impression made on him by the hitherto unprecedented generosity of Caesar. 'I consider the key to

much of Cicero's recent despondency, and the sudden rebound of cheerfulness which we observe at this time, to be the apprehension he was led by his study of earlier Roman history to entertain of slaughter and confiscation upon the establishment of Caesar's authority. It requires no little insight into the frightful character of the Roman revolutions to appreciate Caesar's merits in this respect, and the deep and lasting sense his countrymen entertained of it.' Merivale, note to Abeken, p. 336.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 462-3; Forsyth, p. 395. On the Etruscan and Chaldean arts of divination at Rome, see Merivale, iii. pp. 11-16; Mommsen, iv. 2. 562.

I am afraid you may feel the absence of those attentions in 1
which, considering the many services you have done to me
and the many tastes we have in common, I certainly ought
never to be found wanting by you, yet cannot but fear that
you may now be complaining of my neglect to pay you the
attention of a letter. But I should have written to you long
before now, and many a time too, if I had not preferred—
being in daily expectation of better news—that congratula-
tion, and not encouragement to persevere, should be the subject
of my letter. As it is, I hope to congratulate you before
long, and so postpone that topic to a future letter. On the 2
present occasion I think it incumbent upon me again and
again to fortify your resolution, which stands, I hope and
believe, still utterly unimpaired, by all the influence of one
who is, if not the wisest, at least the truest of your friends.
They will not indeed be such words as I should use to console
you were you a man broken down and robbed of all hope of
restoration; but such as I may employ to one of whose entire
recovery of rights I entertain no more doubt than you, I re-
member, did of mine. For when I was driven out from our
country by a set of men who believed that while I still
stood it was impossible for her to fall, I remember hearing
from many of my acquaintances who called upon me on their
way from Asia, where you were at the time, that you were
confident of a speedy and glorious return for me. If a 3
certain marvellous knowledge of the principles of the
Etruscan art, which you had inherited from your lamented
and illustrious father, did not lead you astray, no more shall I

be misled by that system of divination which I have mastered, partly from the writings and the teaching of the wisest of mankind, studied, as you yourself know, with unwearied ardour, while part also is due to my long apprenticeship to practical politics, and the immense vicissitudes of fortune
 4 which I have seen. In my own system indeed of foretelling the future I have the more confidence from the fact that, dark and distracted as are these times, it has never once deceived me in any single particular whatever. I would mention what things I had said before must come to pass if I were not afraid that I should seem to be inventing them after the result; but there are many people who will at least bear me witness that my warning to Pompeius was at the beginning not to ally himself with Caesar, and afterwards not to break with him. I saw that from an alliance between them came a breaking down of the power of the Senate, from a rupture the kindling of civil war. Moreover with Caesar I was on most intimate terms, for Pompeius I had the highest respect; yet my advice, while perfectly loyal to Pompeius, was salutary to
 5 both alike. Of other events which I foresaw I say nothing: I should not like one, who has treated me in a way so deserving of gratitude, even to suspect that I gave such advice to Pompeius that had he adopted it his opponent would be an eminent citizen, it is true, and the first man in the state, but would not possess powers so vast as now he holds. I gave him my opinion that he ought to go to Spain; which if he had done, there would never have been a civil war at all¹. I fought for the validity of the election of an absentee, not so much to legalise the principle as to maintain its strict observance, since the people had voted for it, when its champion was the consul himself². When the pretext for

¹ Contrast Letter *xxxi.* § 3: 'Pompeius is sure to go to Spain. I could not at all approve of this.' This shows how little we can trust Cicero's claim for the fulfilment of his predictions. The utter falsification again of his prediction about Caesar's cruelty and avarice, which were to rival Cinna and Sulla (Letter *xliv.* § 7), is acknowledged in this very letter.

² Pompeius, in his sole consulship, 52 B.C. See Introduction to Letter *xxx.*

war had arisen, when did I ever lose an opportunity for advice or remonstrance ! Why I would choose the most unfair peace in preference to the fairest of wars. My advice was scouted, ⁶ not so much by Pompeius himself, on whom it was making some impression, as by those who, having full confidence in Pompeius as a general, thought that a victory in this war would be singularly well adapted to the state of their fortunes and their greed of plunder. The war began ; I took no part. It was shifted from Italy ; still I remained behind as long as I could endure : but my sense of honour was too strong for my fears ; I had a horror of failing Pompeius in his danger, who in former days had not failed me in mine. Consequently when my sense of duty, or respect for the opinion of good citizens, or, if you like, the feeling of honour, was too strong for me, I too went, like Amphiarus in the tragedies, knowingly and with my eyes open to 'the grim fate that loomed upon my view³;' and in this war not a single misfortune has happened without my telling it beforehand.

You will admit then that, since I too being a political ⁷ augur have first, after the manner of augurs and astrologers in general, established to your satisfaction my claims to a knowledge of augury and prophecy by an appeal to predictions which I have previously made, my method of predicting will now be entitled to your confidence. I give you an augury therefore ; but it is drawn neither from the motions of a bird whose flight is significant, nor from the notes of one with an ominous cry, as in the rules of our augural system, nor yet from the eagerness of the feeding, or the sound of the food as it drops on the ground : no, far different are those signs which are given to my observation, not more infallible indeed than the others, but at least not so full of darkness and perplexity.

³ Amphiarus, knowing by the gift of prophecy that he must fall if he went against Thebes, concealed himself ; but his hiding-place being betrayed by his wife Eriphyle, he joined at last in the fatal expedition. The quotation seems to be from some tragedy, perhaps the Eriphyle of Accius.

- 8 Now the signs which I have to use for my predictions are noted by me on a sort of double system, one half of which I draw from observation of Caesar himself, the other from the nature and the theory of our present political relations. In Caesar I find as follows: a mild and forgiving disposition, as you have painted it in your beautiful work, the 'Stanzas written in Dejection⁴;' to this must be added the extraordinary pleasure he takes in talents of the highest order, such as are your own; moreover he always gives way to the wishes of a large number of people when they are reasonable and inspired by real warmth of regard, and not merely frivolous or self-interested; in which light the unanimous feeling of Etruria will influence him to an extreme degree.
- 9 Why then have all these points done so little good hitherto? Because he thinks that if he has once relented towards you, against whom he apparently has better grounds for resentment, he cannot resist the pleas of many others. Then you will say: 'What hope have I of one who is so angry?' He is not blind to the fact that he will have a copious draught of praises from the same fountain by which he has been just a little bespattered. Finally, he is a man of most acute judgment, and much foresight; he perceives that you, as being by far the most eminent man in a part of Italy which it is impossible to ignore, and even in the whole of our commonwealth a match for any of the foremost men of your time, whether we look to talents, or influence, or popularity in the Roman world, cannot any longer be excluded from political life; he will not like to leave this to be sooner or later the concession of time, instead of at the present moment making it his own.
- 10 So much as to Caesar. I will now say a word on the nature of the times, and of circumstances round us. No human being is so bitter against the cause which Pompeius

⁴ Billerbeck, in my opinion happily, conjectures that the 'Querellae' of Caecina was an elegiac poem, of the same character as Ovid's 'Tristia.' Caesar could hardly have been addressed in prose on this subject in any form but that of a letter; and the title is much more appropriate to a poem.

took up with more spirit than prudence, as to dare to assert that we are either an unpatriotic or an unprincipled party. And speaking of this, I am constantly struck by the dignity, justice, and good sense of Caesar; he never speaks of Pompeius but with the deepest respect. But, you will say, against him in his public character he often acted with too great harshness. What you allude to were the deeds of war and of victory, not of Caesar. Look how warmly he received us all. He has taken Cassius on to his own staff; he has made Brutus Governor of Gaul, and Sulpicius of Greece; Marcellus, with whom he was most indignant of all, he has recalled under circumstances which give him the highest possible honour. What then is the drift of all these argu- 11
ments? Because here is a case which the very nature of things and the circumstances of the times will not permit, nor will any system of government, be it the same as before or a changed one, endure; in the first place, that where all are equally involved in a cause, the same lot and measure should not be meted out to all alike; and secondly, that good men and good citizens, without a stain of disgrace on their character, should be forbidden to return to a country, to which so many have already returned though they were sentenced for infamous crimes.

Here then you have my prophecy, which had I the least doubt 12
about it I should not choose now to dwell upon instead of such topics of consolation as these, however easily with them I could cheer so stout-hearted a man as yourself: that if you had taken up arms for the cause of your country—for so you then regarded it—only when victory was already a certainty, you deserved no extraordinary credit; but if you had made up your mind that owing to the uncertainty of the issues and results of war it was a possible contingency that we might be defeated, it would be wrong for you to have made yourself fully prepared for success, while hopelessly unable to bear a failure. I would argue too what a consolation your conscience of the way you have acted, and what a pleasure your studies ought

to be to you under your misfortunes; I would adduce the instances, not only from olden time but even in our recent experience, of heavy calamities that have befallen your own leaders or associates; I would name many illustrious examples too among foreign nations; because it soothes our pain to recollect that this is as it were a law under which we all live, 13 and a condition of human life. I would enlarge to you too on the way in which we are living here—what a scene of confusion and utter chaos this is; because we cannot but feel milder regret at being debarred from the political life of our country when it has been hopelessly corrupted than when it was sound. But all this kind of thing is quite unnecessary: very soon I hope—nay rather, I look upon it as certain—we shall see you here in the enjoyment of all your rights. Meanwhile I have long ago not only consented but volunteered to give the help of such zeal and loyalty, perseverance and energy as I may possess to your absent self and your other self in mind and body which is present with us here, your devoted and excellent son. And my power herein is now enlarged by the fact that Caesar (I might even add his associates too) is making me such extremely friendly advances, day by day increasing in warmth, as are paid to no one else. Whatever influence or authority I shall have power to exert with him shall be exerted in your service: it is for you to show that you bear yourself as one who has not only a resolute mind, but also the best of hopes.

XCII. (AD FAM. VI. 7.)

FROM AULUS CAECINA IN SICILY TO CICERO AT ROME, IN
REPLY TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

December (1), 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

- 1 If you found my book somewhat slow in coming to hand¹

¹ It is doubtful what this book is, but as it clearly contained a panegyric on

you must pardon my fears, and allow some indulgence for my unhappy circumstances. My son, I am told, was afraid, and not unreasonably, that if the book was once allowed to appear, since the spirit in which a thing is written is not so important as that in which it is received, the fact itself might foolishly be an injury to me; and all the more because I am still paying heavily the penalty of authorship. This is a circumstance indeed in which my fate is one unheard of before; for while a slip of the pen is removed by an erasion, while incompetence is punished by publicity, my error is chastised by expatriation, when the sum of my offence amounts to this, that I spoke bitterly of an antagonist against whom I was actually in arms! There is not one man amongst us, I suppose, who did not seek to woo the Goddess of Victory by his prayers; not one who even if his sacrifice was being offered with another object did not, ay and at that very moment, make it still his first prayer that Caesar might be very speedily mastered. If he is in ignorance of this, he is indeed in a state of perfect bliss: if he knows and is assured of it, why is he angry with a man who has written something or other to give him offence, when he has pardoned all those who have offered up many a prayer to Heaven for his ruin?

But to come back to the point where I was, this was the origin of my timidity; I have alluded to yourself in the book, with reserve and caution, I give you my word; not checking, but almost running away from myself. Now who does not know that this kind of composition in particular ought to be not merely unfettered, but impassioned and enthusiastic? It is supposed that to satirise your opponent the path is clear—you have to take care however that you do not slip into libel; to praise yourself is hampered by the difficulty that the imputation of egotism may immediately follow; the only thing indeed that is really free, is for each to praise somebody else,

Caesar, and mention of Cicero, Mr. Watson suggests a continuation of the 'Querellae' mentioned in the preceding letter.

since any faults you may find in him are sure to be put down to feebleness or jealousy. Perhaps, after all, this may be to you a more gratifying and appropriate way; for what I could not do really well, my best course was to leave entirely alone; failing that [the kindest thing was], to be as chary of words as possible. Nevertheless, the fact is that I did hold myself in: there are many circumstances which I have toned down; many which I have suppressed; several I did not even put on paper at all. The consequence is that just as if in a flight of stairs you remove some, cut down others, and leave a few here and there just contriving to hang together, your staircase will not be one to go up, but a work much in danger of coming down, exactly so where one's inspiration is at once fettered and crushed, what can it possibly produce that deserves a listener or can gain any approval? But indeed, whenever I have come to Caesar's name I have a fit of trembling all over; not from fear of vengeance, but of his criticism, because I do not know Caesar thoroughly. You may suppose that a man has not much fire left him when it comes to arguing thus: 'He will be pleased with this; that phrase is objectionable. Supposing I make such and such a change? 'No, I am afraid it may make matters worse. Come now, this is complimentary to a certain individual; can it really be regarded as an attack upon him? Well, supposing it is an attack, what happens if he objects? He takes vengeance on a foe still in arms for using a pen: what will he do if the foe is beaten and not yet brought back home?' You yourself add to my alarm, when in 'The Orator' you use Brutus as your shield, and in order to excuse yourself try to make him equally responsible with you. When one who was once the advocate of us all does this, what must I, who once depended on your advocacy, and do now on that of all my countrymen, be expected to feel? In this forged indictment of terror therefore, this tormenting sense of blind suspicion, seeing that one is perpetually writing to suit the imaginary sentiments of another person, and not one's own judgment,

I at any rate, even if you have had no experience of the fact, because your great and extraordinary talents have armed you completely at all points, feel how difficult it is to come out safely. Nevertheless I had already told my son he was to read my book to you and take it away again, or only give it to you on the condition that you would undertake to revise it, that is to say, if you would re-write it all.

As for my going to Asia, though the necessity laid upon 5 me was most imperative, I have done as you have bidden. What need for me to plead with you on my own behalf? You see that the time is now come in which my fate must of necessity be determined. There is no reason, my dear Cicero, why you should wait for my son: he is but a lad; owing to prejudice, or inexperience, or timidity, he cannot possibly see all the arguments for every measure. It is only right that you should undertake the whole responsibility in this matter; my hopes rest entirely on you. You with your judicious observation are already master of the knowledge of what things Caesar will be pleased with, what he will be persuaded by: it is necessary that everything should originate with you, and by you be carried through to the end. Your influence with himself is considerable; with all his creatures it is unequalled. If it should be that you 6 have come to the conclusion that your part consists not simply in doing anything for which you have been asked—though even that is noble and generous—but that the whole burden rests upon your shoulders, then you will carry it through; unless, as may be the case, it is my misery that makes me too unreasonable, or our intimacy too shameless in thus imposing the burden upon you. But your life and habits offer me a defence against both accusations; for because you have made it a rule to spare no exertions on behalf of your friends, those who are most intimate with you do not now expect this from you; they demand it.

As for the book, which my son will let you have, do

not, I entreat you, let it get abroad, or else correct it so that it may not do me any harm ².

XCIH. (AD FAM. XIII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS
IN CISALPINE GAUL.

708 A.V.O. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Brutus had now been made by Caesar (see Introduction to Letter lxxxiii) Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, that is of Northern Italy. It seems to have been customary for the Italian municipalities to invest the town funds in the purchase of land there, land in Italy not being very safe under the frequent allotments to veteran soldiers. This not very important letter may be considered as a set-off to the pressure put upon Cicero (Letters xxxvi and xxxviii) to support the outrageous conduct of Brutus to the Salaminians; it is written to ask for special favour to the interest of Cicero's native town, Arpinum. On the great temptation to provincial governors under the Senatorial system to exercise their vast powers in favour of their private friends, see Introduction to Letter xv.

- 1 Noticing, as I always have done, that you are most careful not to be uninformed on any matter in which I am interested, I cannot in consequence doubt but that you are aware, not only what is my native town, but also how eager I am to give any assistance to people who live in my old town [Arpinum]. The fact is that all their income and all the means they possess for keeping up public worship and preserving the fabric of their temples and public buildings in good repair consists in the revenues of their estates in the province of Gaul. We have despatched a commission, consisting of three Roman gentlemen of independent means—Quintus Fufidius the younger, Marcus Faucius the younger, and Quintus Mamercus the younger—to report upon these,

² This paragraph (compare § 5) illustrates the way in which letters and other works were altered by critics before publication, even independently of the author himself. It is unfortunately impossible to ascertain how far this has affected Cicero's own letters.

and exact what is still owed to us by the tenants, and in short to inquire into and regulate the entire administration of them. My intimacy with you is an excuse for making it a particular request that you will take an interest in this business, and see that, so far as you are concerned, every facility may be given for the discharge and speedy settlement of this commission from our town; and as to the commissioners whose names I mentioned, that you would show them, as you would naturally be inclined to do, every possible mark of consideration and hospitality. While you will find that you have been adding some excellent men to the roll of your acquaintance, and laying a most grateful municipality under a permanent obligation by this kindness, to myself you will have done what is even yet more gratifying, because though I have always made it a rule to regard myself as the patron of my fellow-townsmen, the present year has unusual claims upon my attention and my services. For this year, in order satisfactorily to complete the work of the corporation, I recommended my brother for election as an aedile, and also my nephew, and Marcus Caesius, one of my greatest friends, for that is the magistrate—there is not even another at all—we always elect in our borough. And you will have been enhancing the reputation of all these, and especially of myself, if, thanks to the kind help and attention you have given the administration, of affairs by the corporation shall prove to have been satisfactory. That you will do this I earnestly entreat you again and again.

XCIV. (AD FAM. IV. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GNAEUS PLANCIUS AT CORCYRA.

About October, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Gnaeus Plancius had been quaestor of Macedonia at the time of Cicero's exile there in 58 B.C., and had thus been able to render him important services. (Letter xviii. § 3.) These Cicero repaid by successfully defending Plancius in a trial for bribery four years later. As one of the most vehement though not most distinguished Pompeians he was now living in exile at Corcyra (Corfu).

In this summer Cicero divorced Terentia, to whom he had been married for more than thirty years, and married a young heiress named Publilia, who was a ward of his own. The marriage was, as it deserved to be, an unhappy one; Cicero soon lived apart from his wife, whom he divorced in the very next year, and was to the end of his life hampered with difficulties about repaying her dowry. The true grounds of his behaviour to Terentia, with whom he had lived on most affectionate terms (see Letters xvii, xviii, xliii, and lxxv) until the Civil War, are difficult to ascertain, but he accused her, apparently unjustly, of having neglected him at that time, and mismanaged his property. Publilia's wealth was probably one of the chief considerations. According to St. Jerome, Terentia afterwards married, first the historian Sallust, and then Messalla Corvinus; and according to Dio Cassius, one Vibius Rufus prided himself on the possession of two things—Cicero's wife (no doubt Publilia), and Caesar's chair!

Forsyth, pp. 397–402 (Mr. Forsyth here criticises Middleton, who is anxious to lay the blame on Terentia); Abeken, 350, 361.

- 1 I have received two letters from you, dated from Corcyra : in one of which you congratulate me on the news that I am completely reinstated in my old position ; in the other you express your hopes that this step which I have taken may turn out well and happily. Well, as to myself, if there is any 'position' in holding true constitutional opinions, and gaining the approbation of all good constitutionalists for those opinions, I certainly am reinstated in my position. If, on the other hand, to hold a position in the State means to be able either to put your sentiments into practice, or to be able in the last resort to assert them with perfect freedom of speech, then I have not so much as a shadow of position left me ; and we think we are doing remarkably well if we can school ourselves to bear with moderation all that is either present or impending ; no such easy thing in a war of the kind, which holds this probability before our eyes, massacre from one side, slavery from the other.
- 2 Amid this danger however I find a certain consolation when I reflect that I saw all this as long ago as when I used to shiver at the thought, not only of our defeat, but even of our success, and see how great was the risk of referring a point of constitutional law to the arbitrament of the sword.

Even if by it the party had proved victorious, whose cause I adopted not from any desire for war, but attracted by the hope of peace, I was still aware how ruthless the triumph of passion, greed, and insolence combined would assuredly be; or if they on the contrary should be defeated, what terrible havoc it would make among fellow-countrymen of mine, some of whom were in high rank, some also most excellent men; but who when I forewarned them of these things, and gave them the best advice against the danger, persisted in thinking of me as over-cautious, rather than as moderately prudent.

As to your congratulations on the step I have taken, I am 3 sure you really mean them; but in these unhappy times I should never have chosen a new life for myself, had I not found on my return that my household was in no respect better off than the country itself. For it was only when I saw that those to whom my welfare and all that was mine ought above all to have been dear for the undying acts of kindness I had shown them were the very people whose wicked behaviour left nothing secure to me in my own house, nothing free from treacherous snares, that I thought it necessary to protect myself by new and faithful ties against the perfidy of older friends.

But enough—perhaps even too much—about my own affairs. 4 As to yours, I trust that your feeling will be what it ought to be: I mean that you should regard yourself as having nothing to dread more than other people. For if our State is to continue to exist at all, whatever the form of it is to be, I see that you will be free from all possible dangers; because I notice that one party is already appeased with you, the other never was offended; while with respect to my own desire to help you, I trust that this is the conclusion you will form: that in anything which I can find any use for, though I am not blind to the truth about myself and the limits of my powers now-a-days, still whether it be in exertions and advice, or at any rate in warm sympathy at least, I shall be ready to assist your interests, your reputation, and your

welfare. I should be glad if you would let me know without fail how you are doing now, and what you think you are likely to do.

XCIV. (AD FAM. IV. 11.)

FROM MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS AT MYTILENE TO CICERO
AT ROME.

End of 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

This letter is an answer to a lost one of congratulation from Cicero to Marcellus on his pardon by Caesar at the entreaty of the Senate. See Introduction to Letter xc.

- 1 You have good reason for believing that if your advice is always decisive with me, it has been so more particularly upon this occasion. Though my own relation, Gaius Marcellus¹, who is most deeply attached to me, not only recommended, but even prayed and entreated, he could not persuade me until your letter had the effect of making me adopt the course which you both recommend in preference to all others. Your letters describe to me how the matter was transacted. Although your congratulations are particularly valued by me, because they originate in the kindest feeling, yet it becomes to me a far more cheering and gratifying circumstance from the fact that, in such an extreme dearth of such friends, connexions, and relations as would really wish for my recall, I have found you to be the one who longed for me most,

¹ It must be remembered that three of the Marcelli were consuls in three successive years: Marcus, the writer of this letter, in 51 B.C.; Gaius, the first cousin of Marcus and the other Gaius, in 50 B.C.; and Gaius, brother of Marcus, in 49 B.C. A majority of commentators think that the cousin, not the brother, is here meant, because nothing is heard of the latter after the year 48, and he is mentioned as dead in 43 (Cic. Phil. xi. 29). And 'frater' is certainly used for a first cousin; e.g. Cicero, in the *Oratio post Red. in Sen. c. x*, calls Metellus Nepos the 'frater' of his enemy Clodius; but, on the other hand, perhaps the word would be less likely to be so used where, as in this case, an ambiguity might arise. Compare Dict. Biogr. ii. p. 933; Mr. Watson's note on Letter xc. § 3; Abeken, p. 342.

and have given most extraordinary proofs of kindness. Every 2 thing else now is such as I—times being what they were—was finding it easy to forego with equanimity; whereas of the value of this it is my opinion that without the warm regard of good men and good friends such as yourself a man cannot live, whether he be in prosperity or in adversity. It is upon this therefore that I specially congratulate myself; you however, I promise you, shall have reason to see by my acts that your kindness has been bestowed upon one who is your most sincere friend. Adieu.

XCVI. (AD ATT. XII. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

This is the first letter in which the nominal coincides with the real date. Up to the time of Caesar's reform of the Calendar the year consisted of 355 days, with an extra month inserted at intervals at the arbitrary discretion of the Pontifices, who had managed this so badly that the true time was ninety days later than the civil reckoning. Caesar inserted three intercalary months, and made the civil year consist, as it has done ever since, of 365 days, with an extra day every fourth year. 46 B.C. is known as 'the year of confusion.' The year henceforth began with January instead of March.

On the complicated subject of this reform of the Calendar, about which slightly different views are held, see Mr. Watson, Appendix viii; Dict. Ant. s. v.; Merivale, ii. pp. 403-408; Mommsen, iv. 2. 555.

In the early part of this year, apparently in February, the heaviest blow of Cicero's life fell upon him in the death of his beloved daughter Tullia. In January, after the divorce from Dolabella, she gave birth to a child at her father's house at Tusculum, after which her strength gradually sank. Cicero at first went to stay with Atticus, but afterwards, desiring solitude, retired to his estate in the beautiful little island of Astura, on the Latian coast, not far from Antium.

Forsyth, pp. 400-402; Abeken, 353-4.

I have read Brutus's letter, and return it to you; a 1 frivolous answer truly to the questions you had put to him. That however must be his own affair, though as to one point

his ignorance is discreditable¹; he imagines that Cato was the first to give an opinion in favour of execution, which had been expressed by all who had spoken with the exception of Caesar; and also that as the proposal of Caesar himself, who spoke on that occasion in his place as a praetor, was so rigorous, those of the ex-consuls, Catulus, Servilius, both the Luculli, Curio, Torquatus, Lepidus, Gellius, Volcatius, Figulus, Cotta, Lucius Caesar, Gaius Piso, and even Manius Glabrio, and the consuls-elect, Silanus and Murena, were more lenient! But why then adopt Cato's proposal? Because, though it was the very same thing, he had put it into fuller and clearer words. As for me, our author commends me for having forsooth 'brought the question before the House,' not for having made the disclosures, used my influence with others, or even having made my own decision before I took their opinion; all of which things were the very reason why the division resulted in favour of Cato's motion, just because he extolled them to the skies, and moved that they should be entered on the minutes. Whereas our friend actually thinks that he is paying me a very handsome tribute when he has written me down 'our excellent consul.' Why, has any unfriendly critic doled me out more meagre praise? As to your other points, what an answer it was for him to give! he merely begs that you will make the correction about the form of the decree. Had his secretary² pointed out the blunder to him he would at least have done this much. But again, this must be his own look out.

¹ The work which gave so much dissatisfaction to Cicero, who had lately published an encomium on Brutus, was a panegyric upon Cato. The controversy which raged, even under the new empire, over the grave of Cato is one of the most striking features of the time. Caesar himself entered the literary lists against Cicero and Brutus with a work entitled *Anti-Cato*. See Mommson, iv. 2. 448-9 (Mommson's harsh criticism of Cato has found less acceptance than almost any other portion of his great work); Merivale, ii. p. 449; Abeken, p. 344; Forsyth, p. 391.

² 'A librario' is the simple and probable emendation of Koch, quoted by Baiter.

As to these grounds, since you approve of my idea make a ² bargain for me: you know the state of my means³. If however anything is returned by Faberius there is no trouble about it, but even without him I think I can make a push for it. Those of Drusus are certainly for sale, possibly also Lamia's and Cassius's; but we will have a meeting.

As to Terentia I cannot express myself in better terms than ³ those which you use. Let duty be our first consideration: if we are to find that any injustice has been done, I had rather feel that it is she who ought to be ashamed than I.

We must see about paying that 900*l.* to Gaius Lollius's ⁴ wife, Ovia. Eros says it is impossible without me; I suppose because I have got to accept and hand over to her some valuation. I wish he had told you, because if everything is really ready, as his letter tells me it is, and he is not playing me false in this very point, it was capable of being settled by you. Will you enquire into this and make some settlement?

When you call me to come back to the law-courts you are ⁵ calling me to a place which I was beginning to shun even while there was happiness still left to me. For what have I to do with the courts when there is no show of justice, no Senate House; when everywhere I come across the sight of people whom I cannot look on with proper patience? And as to the argument in your letter that people are 'insisting'

³ Cicero was anxious to purchase some grounds across the Tiber in order to erect there a shrine to the memory of Tullia. This legal form of deification, besides being a testimony of his affection, would exempt him from the penalty for excessive expenditure on sepulchral monuments. Atticus however seems to have suggested various difficulties, and the shrine was probably never erected. Ad Att. xii. 35, 36; Forsyth, p. 401; Abeken, pp. 356-7. Mr. Forsyth mentions an essay in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, i. p. 370, on this shrine of Tullia, by the Abbé Mongault, the French translator of the letters to Atticus. Middleton appositely quotes the Book of Wisdom, xiv. 15: 'The father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was but a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.'

that I shall live at Rome, and 'will not hear' of my stopping away, or your telling me for how long they are willing to make the concession, I may assure you it is no new thing for me to think more of you than of all those people put together. I do not even mean to undervalue myself, and prefer standing firmly by my own deliberate judgment rather than by that of every one except ourselves. And yet I am going no further than I find that our greatest philosophers allow, every one of the passages from whom that support this view I have not only read—which in itself, like taking one's medicine, shows at any rate that the patient keeps up his courage,—but have even transferred into my own compositions, which certainly was not like a crushed or broken spirit. Do not think of calling me back from such a regimen into your life of bustle, for fear of my having a relapse.

XCVII. (AD FAM. XIII. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA TO JULIUS CAESAR IN SPAIN.

April, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

After the great defeat of Thapsus only one more stand against Caesar was made by the Senatorial party, under the two sons of Pompeius, Gnaeus and Sextus. The theatre of war this time was Spain, whither Caesar marched with his usual promptness towards the end of the year 46 B.C. The details of this campaign are less known than any of the others; but on the 17th of March a decisive though desperately contested battle was fought at Munda, a place which is, but doubtfully, supposed to be the modern Monda, between Malaga and Gibraltar. The abler brother Gnaeus was assassinated soon after the battle, while Sextus lived for a long time as a brigand in the mountains of Spain. (See Introduction to Letter cxxix.) Caesar returned to Rome in September.

This letter was written in April, but before the arrival of news of the victory. It is simply a letter of recommendation in favour of one Apollonius, a freedman of Publius Crassus, the younger son of the triumvir, who fell with his father in the disastrous Parthian expedition of 53 B.C. Compare Letter xxvii, the remarks on which will apply to this one also.

Merivale, ii. 379-383; Abeken, p. 365.

- 1 Out of our whole nobility Publius Crassus was the youth for whom I had most regard; and while I had always entertained good hopes of him even from his first entry into life,

I began to have more than a good impression after I learnt the judgment which you had formed about him. Now even while he was alive I myself always esteemed and thought very highly of his freedman Apollonius, he being not only devoted to Crassus, but an admirable companion for his highest pursuits, and therefore always much beloved by him. After Crassus's death however this circumstance² made me think him even yet more worthy to take into the confidence of an intimate friend, that he used to regard it as a duty on his part to pay special respect and attention to all such people as had enjoyed his master's friendship, and to whom he had been dear. Not only therefore did he come out to me in Cilicia—and many a time both his loyalty and his sagacity were most valuable to me—but also, I imagine, in the Alexandrian campaign you found that, as far as zeal and fidelity can go, he never failed you. And it is in the hope that you too are of my opinion³ in this that he, acting it is true principally on his own resolution, but also not without my advice, has set out now for Spain to join you. I did not however promise him a recommendation, not that I imagined it would not have any weight with you, but in the first place it seemed to me that no recommendation could be needed for one who has not only been in service with you, but who also for Crassus's sake may claim to be of the number of your friends, and moreover if he wanted to make use of recommendations I saw that he could gain his object just as well by means of other people: a little mention like this of my opinion about him I was very willing to give, because he himself made a great point of it, and also because I have found by experience that you do allow them to influence you.

What I know of him then is that he is a man of cul-⁴ tivation, who has always, even from his boyhood, had a taste for the most intellectual pursuits; for while he was still a boy he used to be much at my house in company with the Stoic philosopher Diodotus,—one of the most pro-

foundly learned, in my opinion, of men,—while now in his enthusiasm for your achievements he is fired with the ambition of placing them on permanent record in the Greek language. That he is equal to this I believe: his talents are decided; he possesses experience; he has long been familiar with literary work and studies of the kind; it is with him an intense ambition not to prove himself unworthy of the immortal fame which your deeds have won.

I give you this only as a statement of my own opinion about him, but you with your extraordinary insight will be far better able yourself to judge of the point. And yet after all I do recommend him to you; any attention that you have shown him will be a peculiar gratification to myself.

XCVIII. (AD FAM. IV. 5.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT ATHENS TO CICERO
AT ROME.

April (?), 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Cicero received many letters of condolence from friends on the death of his daughter, including Brutus, Atticus, and Luceius; and even the great Dictator, though he was now engaged in quelling the last desperate struggle against his power in Spain, found time to do this act of kindness to one of his old opponents. But by far the most beautiful of all these, and perhaps more celebrated than any from the pen of Cicero himself, is the following graceful letter of Sulpicius, who was now residing at Athens as Governor of Greece. (See Introduction to Letter xc.) 'Sulpicius has drawn together in this admired letter whatever human philosophy has of force to compose the perturbations of a mind under the disquietude of severe afflictions. But it is evident that all arguments of the sort here produced tend rather to silence the clamours of sorrow, than to soften and subdue its anguish. It is a much more exalted philosophy indeed that must supply the effectual remedies for this purpose; to which no other but that of Christianity alone will be found on the trial to be in any rational degree sufficient.' Melmoth.

Abeken, pp. 355-7 and p. 363; Forsyth, p. 403.

- 1 When I had received my information about the death of your daughter Tullia you may be sure that, as one might expect, it was a sore grief and pain to me. I felt that

I shared your terrible loss; and had I but been in the country you would neither have found me neglectful nor should I have failed to come to you and tell you myself how deeply grieved I am. And though it is true that consolations of this nature are painful and distressing, because those [dear friends and relations] upon whom the task naturally devolves are themselves plunged into similar affliction, and incapable even of beginning to attempt it without bursting into tears, so that one would rather suppose them in need of a friend to console them themselves than capable of doing this kind office for others, yet nevertheless I have decided to write to you briefly such reflections as have occurred to me on the present occasion; not as if I imagined them to be ignored by you, but because it is possible that grief may be preventing you from keeping them so clearly as usual before your eyes.

What reason is there why you should allow the private ² grief which has befallen you to distress you so terribly? Recollect how fortune has hitherto dealt with us: how we have been bereft of all that ought to be no less dear to men than their own children—of country, position, rank, and every honourable post. If one more burden has now been laid upon you could any addition be made to your pain? Or is there any heart that having been trained in the school of such events ought not now to be steeled against emotion, and think everything after them to be comparatively light.

Or it is for her sake, I suppose, that you are grieving¹? ³ How many times must you too have arrived at the same conclusion as that into which I have frequently fallen, that in these days theirs is not the hardest lot who are permitted painlessly to exchange their life for the grave!

¹ Manutius was the first to suggest 'at' for 'an,' which harmonises but awkwardly with 'credo.' Mr. Munro (*Journal of Philology*, iv. p. 249) rejects 'at,' and believes that 'credo' is a mistake for 'Cicero.' But Mr. J. E. Yonge (*ib.* vol. v. p. 52) again opens the question in favour of 'at.' In either case the passage is one of grave irony. Lucretius v. 175 is a parallel, but Mr. Munro there also rejects the reading.

Now what was there at the present time that could attach her very strongly to life? Was there any enjoyment, or hope, or consolation for the soul? The prospect of a wedded life with a husband chosen from our young men of rank? Truly, one would think it was always in your power to choose a son-in-law of suitable position from among our young men to whose keeping you would feel you could safely entrust the happiness of a child! Or that of being a happy mother, who would see with delight her children succeeding in life—able by their own exertions to maintain in its integrity all that was bequeathed them by their father; intending gradually to rise to all the highest offices of the state; and to use that liberty to which they were born for the good of their country, and the service of their friends? Is there any one of these things that has not been taken away before it was given? But surely it is hard to give up one's children? It is hard; but² this is harder still—that they should bear and suffer what we are doing.

- 4 A reflection which was such as to afford me no light consolation I cannot but mention to you, in the hope that it may be allowed to contribute equally towards mitigating your grief. As I was returning from Asia, when sailing from Aegina in the direction of Megara, I began to look around me at the various places by which I was surrounded. Behind me was Aegina, in front Megara; on the right, the Piræus, on the left, Corinth: all of these towns, that in former days were so magnificent, are now lying prostrate and in ruins before one's eyes. 'Alas!' I began to reflect to myself, 'we poor feeble mortals, who can claim but a short life in comparison, complain as though a wrong was done us if one of our number dies in the course of nature, or has fallen on

² 'Nisi' is probably used here in its colloquial meaning 'but,' which is common in the comic poets (Terence, *Andria*, 660; *Adelph.* 153, 545, &c.). On the many parallels of Cicero's letters with the Comic Drama see an interesting discussion in Mr. Tyrrell's edition, Introduction, pp. 79–81, and many of his notes.

the field of battle; and here in one spot are lying stretched out before me the corpses of so many cities! Servius, why do you not control yourself, and remember that that is man's life into which you have been born?' Believe me, I found myself in no small degree strengthened by these reflections³. Let me advise you, if you agree with me, to put the same prospect before your eyes too. How lately at one and the same time have many of our most illustrious men fallen! how grave an encroachment has been made on the rights of the sovereign people of Rome! every country in the world has been convulsed: if the frail life of a helpless woman has gone too, who being born to our common lot must have died in a few short years, even if the time had not come for her now, are you thus utterly stricken down⁴?

³ Byron has alluded to this celebrated description in a passage (Childe Harold, iv. 44) which will be well worth comparing here *in extenso* :—

'Wandering in youth I traced the path of him,
The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind,
The friend of Tully: as my bark did skim
The bright blue waters with a fanning wind
Came Megara before me, and behind
Aegina lay, Piræus on the right,
And Corinth on the left: I lay reclined
Along the prow, and saw all these unite
In ruin, even as he had seen the desolate sight.

'For time hath not rebuilt them, but upreared
Barbaric dwellings on their shattered site,
Which only make more mourned and more endeared
The few last rays of their far-scattered light,
And the crushed relics of their vanished might.
The Roman saw these tombs in his own age,
These sepulchres of cities which excite
Sad wonder, and his yet surviving page
The moral lesson bears drawn from such pilgrimage.'

⁴ Melmoth compares this passage with Addison's Reflections in Westminster Abbey (Spectator, i. 26): 'When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when

- 5 Do you then also call your feelings and your thoughts from this subject, and as beseems your character bethink yourself rather of this: that she has lived as long as life was of value to her; that she has passed away only together with her country's freedom; that she lived to see her father elected praetor, consul, augur; that she had been married more than once to a young man of the first rank; that after enjoying well-nigh every blessing that life can offer she left it only when the Republic itself was expiring. The account is closed, and what have you, what has she, to charge of injustice against Fate? In a word, forget not that you are Cicero—that you are he who was always wont to guide others and give them good advice; and be not like those quack physicians who when others are sick boast that they are masters of all the secrets of medicine, to heal themselves are never able; but rather minister to yourself with your own hand the remedies which you are in the habit of prescribing for others, and spread them before
6 your own soul. There is no pain so great but the lapse of time will lessen and assuage it: it is not like yourself to wait till this time comes instead of stepping forward by your philosophy to anticipate that result. And if even those who are low in the grave have any consciousness at all, such was the love that she bore you, and her tenderness for all around her, that surely she does not wish to see this in you. Make this a tribute then to her whom you have lost; to all your friends and relations who are mourning in your grief; and make it to your country also, that if in anything the need should arise she may be able to trust to your energy and guidance.

'I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.' Both the similarity and the contrast of these two celebrated passages are in more than one respect instructive and important. Compare the criticism of Melmoth quoted in the Introduction to this letter.

Finally, since such is the lot we have fallen on that even this consideration must perforce be deferred to, do not let your conduct induce any one to believe that it is not so much your daughter as the fate of the Republic and the victory of others which you are deploring.

I shrink from writing to you at greater length upon this subject, lest I should seem to be doubtful of your own good sense; allow me therefore to put before you one more consideration, and then I will bring my letter to a close. We have seen you not once but many times bearing prosperity without reproach, and gaining yourself great reputation thereby: let us see at last that you are capable also of bearing adversity equally well, and that it is not in your eyes a heavier burden than it ought to seem; lest we should think that of all the virtues this is the only one in which you are wanting.

As for myself, when I find that you are more composed in mind I will send you information about all that is being done in these parts, and the state in which my province finds itself at present. Farewell.

XCIX. (AD FAM. IV. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT
ATHENS, IN ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

April (1), 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Yes, my dear Servius, I could indeed wish you had been with me, as you say in your letter, at the time of my terrible trial. How much it was in your power to help me if you had been here by sympathising with, and, I may almost say, sharing equally in my grief I readily perceive from the fact that after reading your letter I felt myself considerably more composed; for while all that you wrote was just what is best calculated to soothe affliction, you yourself, even in trying to

comfort me, showed that your own pain was not slight. Your son Servius however has made it clear by every kindly attention which such an occasion would permit of not only how great was his respect for myself, but also how much pleasure his kind feeling for me was likely to give you; and you may be sure that, while such attentions from him have often been more pleasant to me, they have never made me feel more grateful.

It is not however only the course of your argument and, I may almost say, your equal share in my affliction which comforts me, but also your authority; because I hold it shame in me not to be bearing my trouble in a way that you in the enlightenment of your great wisdom think it ought to be borne. But at times I do feel broken down, and scarcely make any struggle against my grief, because those consolations fail me which under similar calamities were never wanting to any of those other people whom I take as my models for imitation. Both Fabius Maximus, for example, when he lost a son who had held the consulship, the hero of many a famous exploit; and Lucius Paulus, from whom two were taken in one week; and your own kinsman Gallus; and Marcus Cato, who was deprived of a son of the rarest talents and the rarest virtue, all lived in times when their individual affliction was capable of finding a solace in the distinctions they used to earn from
2 their country. For me however, after being stripped of all those distinctions which you yourself recall to me, and which I had won for myself by unparalleled exertions, only that one solace remained which has now been torn away. I could no longer divert my thoughts by undertaking work for my friends, or administration of affairs of state; there was no pleasure in pleading in the courts; I could not bear the very sight of the Senate House; I felt, as was indeed too true, that I had lost all the harvest of both my industry and its success. But if I wanted to recollect that all this was shared with you and other friends I could name, or to break myself in and force my spirit to bear these things with patience, I

always had a refuge to go to where I might find peace, and in whose words of comfort and her sweet society I could rid me of all my pains and griefs. Whereas now under this terrible blow even those old wounds which seemed to have healed up are bleeding afresh; for it is impossible for me now to find such a refuge from my sorrows at home in the business of the State, as in those days I did in that consolation of home which was always in store whenever I came away sad from the thoughts of State, to seek for peace in her happiness. This then is why I stay away both from home and from public life; because home now is no more able to make up for the sorrow I feel when I think of the Republic, than the Republic is for my sorrow at home. I am therefore looking forward all the more eagerly to your coming, and long to see you as early as that may possibly be; nothing can contribute to my relief more than our meeting for friendly intercourse and conversation. I hope however that your return is to take place, as I hear it is, very shortly. As for myself, while there are abundant reasons for wanting to see you as soon as possible, my principal one is in order that we may discuss together beforehand the best method of conduct for a period which must be one of entire deference to the wishes of a single person, but one who is both far-seeing and generous, and, as I think I have thoroughly ascertained, neither averse to myself nor anything less than extremely friendly to you. But admitting this, it is still a matter for much deliberation what is the line, I do not say of action, but of keeping quiet, that we ought by his good leave and favour to adopt. Farewell.

C. (AD FAM. VI. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA TO AULUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS AT
ATHENS.

April, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Aulus Torquatus was an intimate friend of Cicero, now living in exile at Athens, he, like Caecina (Letter xci), not yet having been allowed to return to Italy. It appears from Ad Att. xiii. 9; ib. 20, that he did come back not long after this date. Four letters from Cicero to him are extant (Ad Fam. vi. 1-4). Abeken, p. 372.

- 1 If I do not write to you as often as I used I entreat you not to think it is because I have forgotten you; but that it is either from the low state of my health—which however I fancy has been rising a little,—or because I have been away from town, and so have no opportunity of hearing when anybody is going out to you. I hope therefore you will always assume at once that I keep up a most affectionate recollection of you, and that everything which concerns you affects me no less than if it were happening to myself.
- 2 If the vicissitudes of fortune on which your case has been hitherto tossed have been greater than people either hoped or thought probable, I assure you that under the evil circumstances of the times there is no reason for you to complain. For it is inevitable that either the country must groan under an interminable war; or when it is concluded she must at length recover herself; or she must be utterly extinguished. If the sword is to override everything, you have no cause for fear either from those whom you have supported, or from those who will admit you to grace; if it is sheathed because terms have been made, or because it is flung aside in sheer weariness, or wrested away by some victory, and so the State has gained breathing-time, then you will have full permission to enjoy the rights both of your position and property. If on the other hand all should be utterly lost, and if once that catastrophe has come about which Marcus Antonius, one of the most sagacious of men,

used even then to apprehend when he foreboded all these evils in store for us, then you have at any rate that consolation—a wretched one it is true, especially for one who is what he is both to his country and his friends, but which is nevertheless forced upon us, that what is the common lot of all cannot be a special grief to any individual in particular. If you will well consider—as you are doing now—all the force that is contained in these few words (it was not well to put more into a letter), you will surely see, even without my telling you, that while you have a fair amount of grounds for hope, you have none under either this or any conceivable form of government for fear: and even if it should prove that all is lost, since you if it were offered you would never consent to be the survivor of your country's freedom, that our lot must always be accepted, particularly one which is clear of reproach. But enough of this. I hope you will write to me how you are going on, and where you are likely to be, so that I may know where to write, or where to come to you.

CI. (AD FAM. IV. 12.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT ATHENS TO CICERO
AT ASTURA.

May 31, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

This interesting letter from Sulpicius describes the assassination of Marcus Marcellus, who was now about to return from exile (see Letters xc and xcv), by Magius Cilo, one of his friends and clients. It appears from *Ad Att.* xiii. 10 that some people foolishly attempted to throw suspicion upon Caesar, who was still in Spain, as the instigator of the crime, but this was refuted by the immediate suicide of the assassin. Cicero expressed to Atticus his belief that the deed was done by Cilo in a sudden fit of rage at the refusal of a loan.

Abeken, p. 372; Forsyth, p. 404. Compare Merivale, ii. p. 399. But surely assassination was much less common than would be inferred from this passage of Dean Merivale. Indeed, considering the very unsatisfactory administration of justice at this period, the rare use of the dagger by the Roman contrasts very favourably with its frequency among modern Italians.

Though I am aware that the news I have to communicate will give you anything but pleasure, still since chance no less

than nature lords it over our lives I decided, be the circumstances what they might, [that I was bound] to give you information of them.

On the 23rd of May I landed at the Piraeus from Epidaurus¹, and finding my old colleague² Marcellus there I spent a day in the place to enjoy his company. When I parted from him the next day with the intention of going from Athens into Boeotia and finishing the rest of my judicial business, he was intending, as he told me, to sail round Malea³ to or in direction of Italy. Two days after this date, I being then just about to arrange for starting from Athens, about three o'clock or so in the morning Publius Postumius, a friend of his, came to me and brought me the news that my colleague, Marcus Marcellus, had been stabbed after dinner-time by one of his friends, Publius Magius Cilo. He had received two wounds, one in the stomach, the other on the head just by the ear, but still it was hoped that he might possibly recover: Magius had subsequently committed suicide. He himself had been sent to me by Marcellus to bring this news, and ask that I would summon my own physicians. Having summoned them I started at once for the place just as day was breaking. I was only a short distance from the Piraeus when I was met by a slave of Acidinus with a note, in which it was stated that a little before daybreak Marcellus had breathed his last. So one of the noblest of men had fallen a victim to a most untimely death at the hand of one of the vilest; to one whom his very enemies had spared for his worth a friend had been found to deal the death-blow!

3 However I continued on my way to his pavilion. I found only two of his freedmen and a mere handful of slaves: the

¹ An important town on the east coast of Argolis. Sulpicius had been there on circuit as Governor of Greece.

² Or possibly *our* colleague as Augur. But compare Letter xc. § 3, which, as Mr. Watson says, rather suggests the former.

³ The south-east promontory of Laconia, now Cape Malia, or St. Angelo. It was much dreaded by sailors. Aen. v. 193.

rest had fled they told me in a panic of terror because their master had been slain before his own tent⁴. I was forced to use the very sedan-chair in which I had myself been carried there and my own bearers to bring him back to the city; where I took care that, as far as the available means at Athens would allow, he should have a sufficiently sumptuous funeral. I could not prevail on the Athenians to allow a burial-place within the walls of the city, because it was forbidden, so they said, by their ceremonial law (I must admit however that this never had been conceded to any one before)⁵; the next privilege to that, namely the right of burying him in any of the Gymnasia we thought proper, they did grant. I have chosen a place in the Academy, the noblest training-school in the whole world, where I have burnt his remains, and have since then given instructions that the people of Athens should also provide for the erection of a marble monument to his memory on the same spot. I have therefore now paid to him in death as in life all those duties that were to be expected from one who had been both his colleague and his close friend. Farewell.

Athens, May 31.

⁴ The Piræus being at this time in ruins (see Letter xviil. § 4) it was impossible for any one to sleep there except in a tent. The terror of the slaves arose from the merciless severity of the law towards them in the case of a murdered Roman. Tacitus says on the murder of Pedanius Secundus in the reign of Nero (Ann. xiv. 42), that, 'according to ancient custom, the whole family of slaves abiding at the time under the roof are subject by law to capital punishment.' And the same rigour 'for the vindication of justice and security' was extended to the freedmen also (Ann. xiii. 32).

⁵ This interesting passage shows, as Mr. Long justly points out, the toleration of the Romans for the national and religious customs of the different people in their empire. In this respect indeed the Romans were often superior to the most enlightened of modern imperial States.

CII. (AD FAM. XIII. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA THE
YOUNGER, LAND-COMMISSIONER FOR ITALY.

October, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Valerius Orca, an ex-prætor, had been placed by Caesar, as a moderate and respectable politician, upon his new commission for the assignation of lands to his veterans. The immediate result of such an appointment, like a proconsulship (see Letter xv), was a shower of letters from more or less powerful people, endeavouring to make interest on behalf of some individual or place, and those towns fared badly which had no powerful patron at Rome. Cicero wrote similar letters to Cluvius on behalf of Atella (Ad Fam. xiii. 7); to Rutilius on behalf of a friend, Albinus, (xiii. 8); and to Valerius Orca again for the estate of Curtius (xiii. 5).

Volaterræ (Volterra), one of the most ancient and famous cities of Etruria, on behalf of which the present appeal is made, was exposed to peculiar dangers. Owing to its sturdy support of Marius its lands had been confiscated by Sulla, though never actually divided, and this Cicero puts forward as constituting a claim upon Caesar. Cicero's patronage of the town began with his pleading for their rights as Roman citizens, from which Sulla had excluded them in his consulship, 63 B.C.; but he successfully defended them a second time against the agrarian law of Flavius in 60 (see Letter ix. § 6; x. § 1). It seems most probable also that he was again successful in this appeal.

Mommsen, iv. 2. 527-8; Merivale, ii. pp. 394-6; Dict. Geogr. ii. p. 1319. The name of Valerius Orca does not appear in the Dictionary of Biography.

- 1 Between the people of Volaterræ and myself there exists a tie of the warmest attachment, because having been under very considerable obligations to me they have taken care most abundantly to repay them, and have never once shown any more inclination to fail me in the day of my weakness than of my power. And even if I had no such relation with them, my very warm affection for yourself and my sense of your high esteem for me would still induce me to offer you a recommendation, and advise you to do the best you can for their property; particularly when we consider that they have almost a primary claim to the protection of their rights: in the first place because, by a providential intervention, they somehow managed to escape from the barbarities of Sulla's

time; and in the second because their case excited enthusiastic sympathy from the people of Rome, when during my consulship I was their advocate. For the tribunes ² having proposed a most iniquitous bill affecting their estates, I of course showed both the Senate and people that it ought to be our pleasure to respect the rights of a town which had by such good-fortune been spared from ruin. The line which I thus took received the sanction of Julius Caesar in the Land Act of his first consulship, who exempted the town and district of Volaterrae from liability to such proposals for ever; so that I have no doubt but that he, being a man who is continually forming new connections, would wish the privileges he long ago granted to be maintained. Consequently it will only be in accordance with your discretion either to follow the authority of one to whose following you have joined yourself and whose orders you obey with perfect self-respect, or at least to leave the case entirely open for his decision. About this, at any rate, you ought to have no hesitation: that it would be desirable by so great a kindness on your part to attach for ever to your interests a town so important, so steadily loyal, and so distinguished ¹.

But so far I have only been writing with the view of ³ convincing or persuading you; what remains for me to say is rather by way of petition, so that you may not suppose it is for your sake only that I am thus advising you, but that it is also a favour to myself, and one that I feel obliged to ask, for which I now am pleading with you. Let me say then that you will have done me the most acceptable of services if I find that you have consented to leaving the people of Volaterrae just as they are now, and with undiminished rights of possession. Their houses and lands, their estates and revenues, which have been spared to them by the will of a good providence and of the most illustrious citizens of our

¹ Manutius interprets, 'a town of such character, power, and distinction.' Either rendering is admissible.

Republic, with the enthusiastic approval of the Senate and people of Rome, I now commend to your honour, your justice, and your humanity. If circumstances would but give me an opportunity of protecting the Volaterrans against the present emergency in any way to be compared with the power I used to have of throwing my shield over my friends, there is no tribute I could pay them, no form of championship even that I would not render. But since I am well assured that my influence with you at the present time is as great as it has never failed to be with all good patriots, I entreat you for the sake of our intimate friendship, and the cordial liking that each of us feels is equally reciprocated by the other, to give these Volaterrans such reason for gratitude that they may look upon it almost as a providentially ordered circumstance that the very person appointed to execute this commission on which you are engaged is one on whom I, their constant patron, am able to exercise most influence.

CIII. (AD FAM. XII. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS IN ASIA.

Late in 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Fourteen of Cicero's letters (Ad Fam. xii. 17-30), including also Nos. cxix and cxxiv, are addressed to Cornificius, a son of the person of that name mentioned in i. § 1, vi. § 3, with whom, though a member of the Caesarian party, Cicero was always on friendly terms. After the battle of Pharsalus Cornificius was made Governor of Illyria, but was before long transferred as being an energetic and capable officer to the troubled province of Syria, where Quintus Caecilius Bassus was now raising a formidable insurrection against Caesar. At the date of this letter Cornificius was apparently in the East (Ad Fam. xiii. 17. 1), and uncertain about undertaking the government of Syria. He must however either have refused it, or held it only for a very short time, since in the next year he was Governor of the old province of Africa. He is called the colleague of Cicero, and of Antonius (Letter cxxiv), probably as Augur.

From a passage of Quintilian (Inst. Or. iii. 1. 21, cf. ix. 3. 98,) Cornificius has been thought, but perhaps erroneously, to be the author of the 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' usually included with Cicero's works.

Diet. Biogr. i. pp. 857, 727; Merivale, ii. 383; Abeken, p. 368.

- 1 It was what came last in the letter I have just received

from you which I now intend to answer first, because I have noticed that this is what you great orators sometimes do. You say 'where are the letters I am expecting from you?' whereas I have never once failed to send one, when I have had notice from your friends that somebody was starting. As for what I gather, if I am not mistaken, from your letter, that you would not take any imprudent step, nor make your final decision before knowing where the pranks of that creature—Caecilius Bassus, or whatever his name is—would end, this is no more than my confidence in your judgment had already led me to expect; and then again you made me perfectly at rest about it by your very kind letter. Do this again, I earnestly entreat you, so that I may have the opportunity of learning how you yourself and how everything is going on, and also what you propose to do.

Although I only submitted with very great regret to your going away from us, still I used always to console myself by the belief I then had that you were not only passing at once into a scene of absolute tranquillity, but from one where terrible troubles were impending. Both cases have been exactly reversed, for in your parts war has just broken out, in ours it has been followed by a peace, but still a peace of such a nature that you, were you here, would find much in it that would be far from pleasing. I must admit however that in these respects Caesar himself is not satisfied, because such is always the result of civil war, not to bring about simply what the conqueror wishes, but also to make it necessary to propitiate everybody by whose assistance the victory has been won. For my own part I have now got so totally callous that at Caesar's games I could with supreme indifference see Munatius Plancus making a show of himself, and hear Laberius and Publilius reciting their own plays¹. I can assure you

¹ In the games given by Caesar after the victory of Munda several Roman knights, of whom Plancus was one, took part in the performance; and Laberius, the celebrated writer of mimes, was requested to enter into public competition, and paid for doing so. Mr. Watson surely misses the point

there is nothing I miss so much as a friend with whom to enjoy in confidence a philosophic laugh at it all. You will be the man if you have made your coming as speedy as possible; and I think it will be not only to my interest, but your own also, that you should do so.

CIV. (AD ATT. XIII. 52.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI (?) TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

December 19, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

This well-known and interesting letter describes a visit paid by Caesar, who had recently returned from Spain, to Cicero at Puteoli, in the neighbourhood of which he was staying during the Saturnalia with Lucius Marcius Philippus, his niece's husband. It is written in a style which more resembles the letters of an earlier period than was usual with Cicero at this date, and contains allusions, especially the one about Mamurra, which are very difficult to explain. From what place it is dated is not clear: Mr. Watson says Puteoli; Boot that it was certainly not from Puteoli or Tusculum, but perhaps from Formiæ; Heberden from Astura.

Merivale, ii. p. 433; Abeken, p. 370; Forsyth, p. 411; Munro, Criticisms on Catullus, pp. 80-95.

- 1 Oh, what a formidable guest to have had! and yet *je n'en suis pas fâché*, he was in such a very agreeable mood. But after his arrival at Philippus's house on the evening of the second day of the Saturnalia, the whole establishment was so crowded with soldiers that even the room where Caesar himself was to dine could hardly be kept clear from them; it is a fact that there were two thousand men! Of course I was nervous about what might be the case with me next day, and so Cassius Barba came to my assistance; he gave me some men on guard. The camp was pitched out of doors; my villa was made secure. On the third day of the Saturnalia he stayed at Philippus's till near one¹, and admitted nobody (accounts

when he speaks of 'the badness of the poems of Laberius.' 'Full of pungent delineation of character, in language and metre they exhibited the hand of a master.' Mommsen, iv. 2. 581, and see p. 456; Merivale, ii. p. 427; Abeken, p. 369. The strange spectacle was that of a Roman knight acting or reciting on the stage.

¹ See Letter xxiii. note 3.

with Balbus, I suppose); then took a walk on the beach. After two to the bath: then he heard about Mamurra; he made no objection². He was then rubbed down with oil, and dinner began. It was his intention *se faire vomir*³, and consequently he ate and drank *sans peur*, and with much satisfaction. And certainly everything was very good, and well served; nay more, I may say that

‘Though the cook was good,
‘T was Attic salt that flavoured best the food!’

² Aulus Mamurra was commandant of the engineers in Caesar's army in Gaul. This allusion to him is very obscure, and is explained in various ways. The commonest one (it is adopted, among others, by Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Parry, Abeken, and Heberden) is to refer it to the terrible epigrams of Catullus (especially xxix and lvii), on Mamurra and Caesar himself. Compare Ellis's notes on Catullus, p. 75; Mommsen, iv. 2. p. 321. But this explanation is made almost impossible by the fact that the epigrams on Mamurra were written about 55 B.C., and ten years before this date, at which time indeed Catullus was probably dead, and may now therefore be finally rejected. Manutius explains it that Mamurra had been convicted of transgressing the sumptuary laws (compare the mention of him in Letter xlv. § 6), which Caesar strictly enforced, and this Mr. Watson, though doubtfully, adopts. Boot inclines to the idea that it was the mention of Mamurra's death; and Mr. Munro refuses to decide between these two latter interpretations. The meaning of ‘non mutavit’ of course depends on the explanation adopted: some inferior MSS. and a few editions insert the word ‘vultum,’ which rather favours the last one.

³ Mr. Goldwin Smith in his very interesting article on ‘The Last Republicans of Rome’ (Macmillan's Magazine, April 1868), mistranslates the imperfect tense, ‘we find the great man, when he is the guest of Cicero, *preparing himself* for the pleasures of the table by taking an emetic,’ and makes it a charge of gluttony against Caesar. The real truth is, as Mr. Munro (Criticisms on Catullus, p. 92) has shown, that this was a common medical prescription of the time, just as emetics and letting blood were in our own country fifty years ago. Cicero speaks of it without the least surprise, both here and in *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, vii. 21. Indeed against Caesar a charge of this kind is almost grotesque, seeing that he was, by the universal testimony of both friends and enemies, very sparing in the use of wine, and utterly indifferent to the pleasures of the table. See Suetonius, Iulius, cc. 53 and 63; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 41; Mr. Munro, *l.c.*; Mommsen, iv. 2. 451; Merivale, iii. p. 7. Here again Greek words are used to express a medical term, where our physicians would affect Latin. See p. 364, and Mr. Tyrrell's Introduction, p. 83.

⁴ A line from Lucilius, quoted also in the *De Finibus*, ii. 25.

2 There were three dining rooms besides, where there was a very hospitable reception for the gentlemen of his *suite*; while the inferior class of freedmen and slaves had abundance at any rate; for as to the better class, they had a more refined table. In short, I think I acquitted myself like a man⁵. The guest however was not the sort of person to whom you would say 'I shall be most delighted if you will come here again on your way back;' once is enough. As to our conversation, it was mostly like that of two *savants*; nothing was said *au grand sérieux*. Well, I will only say that he was greatly pleased, and seemed to enjoy himself. He told me that he should be one day at Puteoli, and the next near Baiæ. Here you have the story of his visit—or, shall I say, 'billetting'?—which, I told you, was a thing one would shrink from, but did not give much trouble. I am for Tusculum next after a short stay here.

When he was passing Dolabella's house, but nowhere else, the whole guard was paraded in arms on either side of him as he rode; I have it from Nicias.

⁵ I think this rendering of nearly all the commentators, which refers the sentence to Cicero himself alone, is preferable to that of Messrs. Prichard and Bernard: 'we seemed on friendly terms as friends should be.' The preceding words refer only to Cicero's providing as host; his account of the entertainment itself does not come till afterwards.

PART V.

THE CLOSE OF CICERO'S LIFE.

PART V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR (MARCH 15, 44 B.C.) TO THE
DEATH OF CICERO (DECEMBER 7, 43 B.C.)

CV. (AD ATT. XIV. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT MATIUS'S SUBURBAN VILLA TO ATTICUS AT
ROME.

April 7, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the Ides (15th) of March, 44 B.C., the great Dictator was murdered in the Senate House, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius. The conspiracy against his life included sixty or eighty members, many of whom had been prominent Caesarians in the Civil War. The most active was Gaius Cassius Longinus, one of the praetors; but Marcus Iunius Brutus, now praetor or warden of the city, has attained even greater notoriety, partly from the additional horror given by the probably unfounded belief that he was Caesar's own son¹. The most noteworthy of the other members were Decimus Iunius Brutus, who had been one of Caesar's most trusted generals, and Gaius Trebonius, who had just been consul. The objects of the conspirators were no doubt various, and probably some really regarded his murder as tyrannicide, and necessary for liberty, but the chiefs of the conspiracy seem by general testimony to have been actuated by most unworthy motives of jealousy, cupidity, or disappointment. The most favourable criticism of their action worth notice is Mr. Goldwin Smith's article on 'The Last Republicans of Rome' (Macmillan's Magazine,

¹ The well-known *Et tu, Brute*, rests on no authority. Mr. Goldwin Smith (Macmillan, April, 1868) suggests that, if said at all, it was said not to Marcus, but to Decimus Brutus, who was one of Caesar's best generals. But *καὶ σὺ, τέκνον*, is the expression reported by Dion and Suetonius, which obviously refers to the scandal about Caesar's *liaison* with Marcus Brutus's mother, Servilia. See Merivale, ii. p. 457; Letter xiii. note 3. Caesar however was only fifteen when Brutus was born.

April, 1868): a much sterner judgment is passed by Dean Merivale, vol. ii. ch. 21.

Cicero was not taken into the plot; see the opening sentence of Letters cxxvi and cxxvii. Plutarch no doubt gives the true reason, which would have amazed Cicero himself, that 'they feared his character as being too timid' (Plut. Cic. xvii. 42). He was probably however an eyewitness of the murder (see Ad Att. xiv. 14). His letters generally express a satisfaction which, after Caesar's great generosity to him and his profuse, if not servile acknowledgment of it, is nothing less than ferocious; and no portion of the whole collection of his letters exhibits his character in so unpleasant a light as those of this year. But he soon discovered, what ought to have been obvious before, that the conspirators had 'done away with the king, but not with the kingdom.'

The attitude of the people was at first one of simple stupefaction, but it was soon clear that the conspirators met with no sympathy from them, and they were forced to entrench themselves in the Capitol. The most powerful men in the city before the arrival of Octavianus, Caesar's intended heir, were Marcus Antonius, the surviving consul, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, afterwards the third of the Triumvirs. Antonius, as consul, at once seized the enormous treasure amassed in the temple of Ops, and his power was very greatly increased by receiving from Caesar's widow, Calpurnia, the disposal of her husband's money and private papers. A hollow peace was patched up between the two parties, but the real weakness of the conspirators became evident, and most of them soon fled from Rome. Octavianus landed in Italy about a month after the murder, at once assumed the name of Caesar, to which he was entitled as the adopted son and heir of the Dictator, and announced his intention of claiming his inheritance. From this time forward he becomes one of the central figures in the very intricate drama that was to be played.

Merivale, ii. ch. 22, and iii. ch. 24; Abeken, pp. 379-386; Forsyth, pp. 414-427.

This letter is written from the suburban house of Gaius Matius Calvena, who though a warm and disinterested supporter of Caesar, even after his death, yet remained on most friendly terms with Cicero. For more about Matius see Introduction to Letter cxiii.

- 1 I have come down here on a visit to the subject of our conversation this morning. Desperation can go no farther. 'The entanglement,' he said, 'was hopeless: for if so great a genius could find no way of escape, who was likely to find it now? In short all was lost.' And I am not sure but that he may be right, only he says it with satisfaction, and is positive that before three weeks are over we shall have a rising in Gaul. As for himself, 'since the Ides of March he had not entered into conversation with anybody at all except Lepidus,'

and he wound up with saying that 'it would be impossible 'for such deeds to get off so lightly.' Oh, for your delicacy, Oppius! He grieves for his friend just as truly, and yet never says a word that could offend any good patriot. But enough of this. Please do not think it a trouble to write me ² any news there may be—there is much indeed I am expecting to hear;—among other things whether it is fully known about Sextus Pompeius, and above all what about our friend Brutus? As to him indeed, I hear from the friend with whom I am staying that Caesar used to say, 'It makes all the difference 'what our friend desires, but whatever he desires he desires 'with all his heart;' and that he had impressed him with this characteristic in his speech for Deiotarus² at Nicaea; he seemed to be speaking with such extreme vehemence and freedom from restraint. Another fact—for I like jotting anything down just as it occurs to me:—quite recently when I called upon him at the entreaty of Sestius, and was sitting there waiting till I should be summoned, they say he remarked: 'Can I have any doubt but that I must be intensely disliked 'when Marcus Cicero is sitting there, and cannot come in and 'see me at his own convenience? Yet if anybody is easy-tempered it is he; but for all that I have no doubt he hates 'me bitterly.' This and plenty more of the kind for you. But to my point: will you write anything, whatever it is, not only a big thing, but a little one as well? For my part I will omit nothing at all.

CVI. (AD ATT. XIV. 2.)

FROM CICERO IN THE SUBURBS TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 8, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Two letters from you came to me yesterday: from the first ¹ I learnt about Publilius and the theatre—capital signs that

² King of Galatia. He was also defended by Cicero in an extant speech on the charge of attempting Caesar's life. Letter cviii. § 1.

the people are with us : to applaud Lucius Cassius however
 2 struck me as quite ludicrous¹. The second letter is the one
 you wrote about the Baldhead ; but there was nothing of that
 kind to be seen at his house, as you seem to think, for I did
 go on some way, though not for so long a time as I meant,
 because his conversation detained me².

- 3 As to what I wrote to you, perhaps rather enigmatically, it
 comes to this. He told me that Caesar had said in his presence,
 because I was sitting waiting there on that occasion when I
 called upon him to oblige Sestius, 'Am I then such a fool
 now as to believe that even this easy-tempered man can really
 like me, when he sits there such a long time waiting for my
 convenience?' You can count therefore on *Monsieur le Chauve*
 as dead against the side of peace, or in other words of Brutus.
 4 I think I shall to Tusculum to-day; be to-morrow at Lanu-
 vium, and after that at Astura. Every thing is ready for
 Pilia's reception, but I should like Attica too—however I
 forgive you. My kind regards to them both.

¹ Some applause was apparently given to the conspirators at the theatre, probably on the occasion of the Megalesian games, April 5, when a piece of Publius Syrus was being played. But to include Lucius Cassius, the brother of the chief conspirator, seemed amusing to Cicero, because he was not in the plot at all.

² This passage is so extremely obscure, partly from the doubtful reading, and partly from the want of Atticus's letter to which the allusions are made, that translation is almost hopeless. By general consent of the commentators the second *φαλάκρωμα*, like 'Madarus,' is a mere play upon Matius's nickname Calvena, derived from his baldness, and represents Matius himself. But the first *φαλάκρωμα* is a very doubtful correction of the MS., which has *φαλάκωμα*, or *σαλάκωμα*. Gronovius proposed *σαλακάνισμα*, 'swaggering' (a word which is not found elsewhere); Boet, not very happily, *μαλακὸν κῶμα*, 'a quiet sleep.' If *φαλάκρωμα* be right, which I do not believe, Atticus may have said jokingly: 'So you have been to see Calvena. What a pair of bald-pates you must have been. You would never be able to get away from his house.' Cicero then replies: 'Not a bit of it: I did not drive on like a bald-pate there at all; I actually did move on that day, though not so far as I meant, because I own his talking did keep me a long time.' In any case the Greek word probably refers to Cicero, and not to Matius, because 'apud quem' does not mean 'in him,' but 'at his house.' 'Diu' is better taken with 'retentus' than with 'processi,' which would probably require 'longe.' But under the circumstances nothing better than a guess at the meaning is even possible.

CVII. (AD FAM. XI. 1.)

FROM DECIMUS IUNIUS BRUTUS, PROBABLY AT ROME, TO MARCUS
IUNIUS BRUTUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS.

April, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

This letter 'shows clearly enough the embarrassed position in which the 'conspirators found themselves. Decimus's first thought was to retire into 'voluntary exile, but as soon as the Senate's decree passed, confirming Caesar's 'dispositions, he changed his mind, and proceeded to take the command of the 'three legions destined for Cisalpine Gaul, and to possess himself of the govern- 'ment of that province, upon which Antonius seemed already to be turning 'his eyes.' Abeken, p. 387; compare Merivale, iii. pp. 114-5. As the letter is apparently written from Rome, Marcus Brutus and Cassius must have already left the city, though probably they were still in the neighbourhood.

Let me inform you of the position we are in. Yesterday 1 evening Hirtius was at my house. He convinced me about the intentions of Antonius, as being in reality most malicious and treacherous; for he was making a pretence that, so far from being able to give me the province, he did not think any one of us could remain in town without risk, so excited were the feelings of the soldiery and the populace; both of which assertions are, you no doubt perceive, as false as this, which Hirtius pointed out to me, is true: that he is really afraid lest, if our rightful claims were even moderately supported, these people would have no part left them to play in the Republic at all. Finding that I was in this strait, I have 2 decided on applying for an honorary ambassadorship for myself and the rest of us, so as to look about for some decent reason for leaving town. This he has promised that he will procure; and yet I am by no means confident that he will succeed; there is so much insolence and desire to persecute us in these creatures: even if they grant our request, I think we shall find ourselves all the same in a very short time being declared public enemies or proscribed as outlaws.

What then, say you, have I to suggest? We must 3 admit that fate is too strong for us: we must retire, I

think, from Italy and emigrate to Rhodes, or somewhere at any rate: then if chance has turned more in our favour, we will return to Rome; if indifferent, we will live in exile; if as bad as can be, we will come at last to the extreme
 4 expedient. At this point it will possibly occur to one of you: 'why wait for extremities instead of making an effort at once?' Because we have no rallying-point, except Sextus Pompeius and Caecilius Bassus, who will be, it seems to me, in a stronger position when this news about Caesar has reached them. Time enough for going to them, when we shall have learnt what their strength is really worth.

I will make any engagements on behalf of you and Cassius that you may wish me to make, for Hirtius stipulates that
 5 I should do so. I must ask you to let me have an answer at once, because I have no doubt that Hirtius will let me know about these matters before ten o'clock. Tell me in your answer of some place where we can meet, to which you would like me to come.

6 P.S. After the final conversation I have just had with Hirtius I have decided to apply for leave while we are at Rome to have a guard allowed us by the State. I do not suppose they will grant us this, because we shall be making them very unpopular. Still I thought I ought to omit no appeal that I could regard as being reasonable.

CVIII. (AD ATT. XIV. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 22, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

The possession of Caesar's papers gave Antonius a powerful advantage, which he was not slow to use. Caesar's acts had been ratified by the Senate, many members of which would have lost their own appointments if Caesar's reign were declared an usurpation. This was gradually extended to the ratification of intended acts, of which any memoranda could be found in Caesar's papers, so that Cicero's repeated accusation against Antonius of a wholesale forgery of documents and of being under the corrupt influence of the notorious actress Fulvia is anything but improbable. But a grant of the full Roman franchise

to the Sicilians, which Cicero attacks in this letter, was perfectly in accordance with Caesar's definite policy. Mommsen, iv. 2. 545-7; compare Introduction to Letter xxxi, on the franchise given to the Transpadane Gauls.

Merivale, iii. pp. 96-98; Abeken, p. 389.

Oh! Atticus, I fear the Ides of March have given us¹ nothing save a thrill of pleasure, and the satisfaction of our hatred and indignation. Look what news I get from you—what sights I see here! *Res quam clara fuit, quamque imperfecta!* You know how attached I am to the Sicilians, and what a distinction I consider it is to have their patronage. Caesar was generous in his grants to them, nor was I inclined to object, although putting them on the footing of Latins was not a proper measure to pass; however, let that be. Well, lo and behold, Antonius, after pocketing a very considerable sum of money, has posted a law as having been carried by the Dictator in the assembly, under which the Sicilians find themselves Roman citizens—a proposal of which no hint was ever given in his lifetime! Nay, is it not the same thing too with my client Deiotarus¹? Of course he might quite fairly get all the kingdom he could, only not through Fulvia. There are hundreds of things of the kind; but I bring the question back to this²: shall we or shall we not, to a considerable extent at least, insist upon a claim so clear, so well-attested, and so equitable as that of Buthrotum, and so much the more strongly, the more this very person has been making other grants? With me here Octavius is inclined to be most² attentive and friendly. His own attendants, by the bye, wanted him to be styled Caesar: not so Philippus, and not so therefore I myself. For him indeed I say that it is impossible ever to be the good citizen, there is such a crowd of people at his elbow who positively threaten our friends

¹ See Letter cv. note 1.

² Or, as Boot renders, 'I apply them all to the case of Buthrotum.' 'Refero' is surely transitive, whether we regard the object as being understood, or 'illuc' as being the neuter of the old form 'illic,' like 'istuc,' Letter lxxxvii. § 2. The case of the Buthrotians was that Caesar had promised in writing to remit a sentence of confiscation passed against their territory. See Ad Att. xvi. 16.

with death. The present state of things, he says, 'cannot be acquiesced in.' What do you expect when this lad has come to Rome—Rome, where our deliverers cannot safely stay? They themselves indeed will ever be illustrious, nay, will even be happy in the recollection of what they have done; but we, unless I am much mistaken, shall be perfectly prostrate. Consequently I long to get away from this, to where 'Of all the race of Pelops none may come,' as somebody says³. I am far from being in love even with our consuls-elect⁴, who have positively compelled me to make speeches for them, so that even here at the waters I am not allowed to live in peace. But after all, this comes of my own too great good-nature; for if such a thing used once upon a time to be virtually compulsory, it is not so now.

- 3 Though for this long time past I find myself without anything to write to you about, still I write all the same, not for any pleasure I can give you by my letters, but for the sake of eliciting yours. You of course will send any news there may be, whatever it is, about the others, particularly about Brutus. I am writing this on the 22nd, while at dinner with Vestorius⁵, who, poor man, is as much at sea in an argument, as he is at home in keeping a ledger.

CIX. (AD ATT. XIV. 13 A.)

FROM MARCUS ANTONIUS IN SOUTH ITALY TO CICERO AT

PUTEOLI.

About April 20 (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Sextus Clodius, the descendant of a freedman of the great Claudian family, and the instrument of Cicero's enemy, Publius Clodius, in all his acts of violence, had been banished for riot in 52 B.C. Antonius, on the ground of a memorandum found among Caesar's papers, or perhaps, as Cicero declared to Atticus, only fabricated, intended now to restore him; but contrived to put Cicero in a difficult position by making the restoration conditional on his consent. This

³ From some tragedy; Boot suggests the *Atreus of Accius*.

⁴ Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa.

⁵ A banker of Puteoli; see Letter xxxiv. § 1; xxxviii. note 4.

and the following letter are enclosed in one written to Atticus, in which Cicero says that he has consented, because Antonius was sure in any case to have done as he pleased. But the very superfluous and insincere warmth with which Cicero replies placed him afterwards in an embarrassing position, since in answer to his First Philippic this letter was read by Antonius in the Senate as a proof of his inconsistency. (Phil. ii. 4-7.) The young Clodius here mentioned was the son of Publius Clodius and Fulvia. Antonius, who had married Fulvia, was therefore his guardian.

The date of Cicero's reply is probably about April 25. Antonius was at this time in South Italy, endeavouring to secure the adhesion of Caesar's veterans; Cicero was staying at a beautiful estate near Puteoli (Pozzuoli) in Campania, which had been lately bequeathed to him by his friend, the banker Cluvius.

Forsyth, pp. 432-4; Abeken, p. 394.

Owing to the pressure of my work and your sudden departure from Rome I have been prevented from speaking to you in person of that about which I am now writing; and therefore I fear that in my absence it may seem to you only of lighter weight. If however I find that your good-nature comes up to the high opinion I have ever entertained of you I shall be greatly pleased.

I entreated Caesar to grant a recall to Sextus Clodius,² and obtained my request. It was my intention even then to make use of his concession to me only on the condition that you had given your sanction, which makes me all the more anxious that you should kindly give your consent now to my carrying this out myself. But if you insist on steeling yourself against his unhappy and broken fortunes I for my part will not enter into a contest with you, though I suppose I am really bound to pay respect to a written memorandum of Caesar's. But I must protest that if you are inclined to regard me with kindness and consideration and friendliness, you will undoubtedly show yourself ready to be convinced, and be glad that Publius Clodius, a youth round whom the brightest hopes have gathered, should bear in mind that you refused, when it was in your power, to persecute his father's connections. Let it, I entreat you,³ be seen that the feud you waged with his father was on

political grounds—you surely would not think the whole family deserves to be trampled on—because it is more honourable and easy for us to lay aside quarrels arising from some political reason than from a stubborn temper. Allow me then forthwith to train the lad in this opinion, and instil into his young mind the persuasion that personal quarrels are not to be transmitted from generation to generation. Although your fortunes, my dear Cicero, are, I know, now unquestionably beyond the reach of any danger, yet I imagine that you would rather spend an old age of tranquillity and honour than one which is harassed with anxieties. Finally, when I ask you for this favour I am only claiming my rights, for I have never failed to do anything for your sake. If however I do not succeed in this request I do not propose to make this concession to Clodius in my own person, so that you may see how high your authority is with me, and be therefore the more inclined to show that you are open to conciliation.

CX. (AD ATT. XIV. 13 B.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO MARCUS ANTONIUS IN THE
SOUTH OF ITALY.

A reply to the preceding Letter.

About April 25 (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

- 1 For one reason I could wish that you had pleaded in person for the request you make me by letter, because then not only from my speech, but, as we say, 'from speaking face and eye and brow,' you might have been able to see my affection for you. For while I have always had a great regard for you, which began in your warm support of me, and was also felt to be demanded as a return for your kindness, in the present times the welfare of our country has established your claims upon me so strongly that there is no one whom I
- 2 hold more dear. But as to your letter, its tone, at once most affectionate and most complimentary, has so impressed me that instead of conferring a favour upon you, I seem to be actually

receiving one from you, when you ask me in this way: even proposing not to reinstate without my consent a kinsman of your own who has been an opponent of mine, though you could do so without the least trouble.

Yes, my dear Antonius, I put this matter entirely in your 3 hands; and not only so, but consider myself most generously and courteously treated by you after the terms in which you have written to me. And while I should think it right, whatever the circumstances might be, unreservedly to make you this concession, I make it also to my own sympathy and disposition; for—so far from my being vindictive—there never was in me any trace even of sternness or severity beyond what the necessities of the Commonwealth demanded. I may add that even while Clodius himself was alive my dislike for him was by no means made prominent, and I have always asserted the principle that our enemies' friends ought not to be persecuted, particularly those of humbler rank, nor ought we ourselves to be deprived of the protection which we derive from them. For 4 as to young Clodius, I consider it your proper course, as you suggest in your letter, to instil such precepts into his yet tender mind that he may not imagine any trace of hostility to remain between our families. Publius Clodius I withstood, because I was asserting the public interest, he his own: upon our dispute the country has now given its deliberate decision. Were he alive now I should have no cause of quarrel still remaining with him.

Since therefore you put your request to me in such a way 5 as to say that even in what is entirely a matter of your own discretion you will not use it against my wishes, will you kindly allow this to be a concession on my part to the lad himself as well? Not as though my old age need look for any danger to come from his youth, or my position had much to dread from any opposition whatever, but that you and I may be linked more closely to each other than we have hitherto been; for owing to the interference of these feuds your heart has been more open to me than your house. But

of these things enough. I will end with this: that always with the warmest pleasure I shall without any hesitation do whatever I have reason to believe is in accordance with your wishes, and connected with your interests: of this I hope you will make yourself thoroughly assured.

CXI. (AD FAM. IX. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT POMPEII TO PUBLIUS CORNELIUS DOLABELLA
AT ROME.

May 4, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Upon the murder of Caesar Dolabella at once assumed the consulship, which had been promised to him for the following year, and joined the conspirators; but Antonius before long secured his adhesion by a very large bribe. Shortly before this letter Dolabella had, in the absence of Antonius, destroyed an altar and column erected by an impostor named Herophilus or Amatius, who had pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and put to death many people who assembled to worship at it. Cicero's eulogies of this act seem rather ridiculous, and were probably dictated by the desire to see Tullia's dowry restored by Dolabella. They were more than once found fault with by the more prudent Atticus (Ad Att. xiv. 18. 1).

Merivale, iii. pp. 100-2; Abeken, p. 400; Forsyth, p. 434.

- 1 MY DEAR DOLABELLA,—Though your reputation had always been enough for me, and though from it I used to derive quite sufficient delight and satisfaction, yet I cannot but own that to me the crowning pleasure arises from the fact that in popular opinion my own name is linked with the praises you have earned. I have not met a single person, many as I meet every day (for numbers of our best men are coming to these parts in quest of health, besides the crowd of my acquaintances who come from the country-towns), without finding that when they have been praising you to the skies they invariably go on to express their warm gratitude to me; because they say it is impossible to doubt that it is all through attention to my advice and instruction that you are now proving yourself so patriotic as a citizen and dis-
- 2 tinguished as a consul. Now though I might answer with perfect truth that your acts originate in your own judgment and your own free-will, and that you are not one to need

any man's advice, yet I neither altogether admit this to be true, for fear of diminishing the credit due to you if all this should be thought to have originated in my counsels, nor yet give it a very emphatic denial, because I do indeed covet honour, perhaps more than enough. Yet, after all, if it was an honour to the king of kings, great Agamemnon himself, that in taking counsel he had a Nestor by him, this is no detraction from your dignity; while to me it is a pride that you, our young consul, should be winning golden opinions, as if you were a pupil who had profited by my instructions. Lucius Caesar¹ indeed, when I paid him a visit during his illness at Naples, although he was in grievous bodily pain all over, said, almost before he had fairly bidden me welcome: 'My dear Cicero, I congratulate you on having such influence with Dolabella. Had I as much with my nephew we now might possibly be secure. And as for your Dolabella, I not only congratulate but feel grateful to him; he is indeed the one consul since yourself whom we in the true sense can call a consul.' He then enlarged on the fact, and the action you had taken, and added that nothing was ever more nobly or more splendidly done; nothing ever more salutary for the commonwealth: and indeed this is the unanimous expression of everybody.

Now my petition of you is that you will allow me, even in default of a title, to accept this inheritance, so to speak, of the glory really due to another, and consent to my coming in for a fair share at least of the applause you have earned. And yet, my dear Dolabella, I have only been joking with you; for I should be far more glad to have poured all my glories—if mine indeed exist at all—into your lap than to have absorbed any portion of what is yours; because while my affection for you has always been quite as strong in reality as that which you have had the opportunity of seeing, my heart has been so

¹ Lucius Caesar was consul 64 B.C.; see Letter ii. He was a distant relation of the Dictator, and uncle of Marcus Antonius.

warmed by this action of yours that no love can ever have been more ardent. Believe me indeed, there is nothing fairer, nothing more beautiful, nothing more lovely, than well-doing.

- 5 I have always, as you know, loved Marcus Brutus for his lofty genius, his winning courtesy, his extraordinary single-mindedness and consistency, yet, in spite of this, on the Ides of March so much was added to my affection that I was astonished at there being any room for increase in what I had long looked upon as actually overflowing. Was there any one who would dream that a grain could possibly be added to the affection I entertained for you? So much was added that it seems as if it is only now I love you; before I esteemed you.
- 6 Therefore what excuse have I for exhorting you to obey the dictates of high position and fame? Am I to hold up illustrious examples to you, as people generally do when they are exhorting us? I find no example more illustrious than yourself. It is yourself you are called on to imitate, yourself the rival against whom you must be measured; you cannot even gain indulgence now if after such great deeds done you do not act up to your own character.

- 7 And this being so, admonition is uncalled for; I must rather resort to congratulation; for you have had a privilege which perhaps no one before you has ever enjoyed, of finding a most rigorous administration of justice not only not unpopular but even acceptable to the people, and as gratifying to the very dregs of the mob as it was to every virtuous citizen. Had this been the result of some lucky chance, I would congratulate you on your good-fortune; but it is a result of the greatness not only of your courage, but also your genius and prudence; for I have read your address, and nothing could be more skilful than it is; so cautiously and gradually comes now an approach to your reasons for action, now a retreat from the position, that by universal admission the very logic of facts showed the immediate necessity for strong measures.
- 8 You have thus delivered Rome from danger, and the whole country from the apprehension

of it, and the noble service which you have contributed is not one of the moment only, but also a precedent for the future. And after this action you are bound to see that the Republic now rests upon you, and that it is for you not only to protect but to give honour to those men by whom the first step was taken to a new era of liberty. But on these subjects more when we meet, as I hope we shall do very shortly. Do you, being now the guardian of the Republic and of us all, be sure, my dear Dolabella, that you take most careful precautions for your own security.

CXII. (AD ATT. XIV. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT LANUVIUM (?).

May 11, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

I had only a short time before handed a letter for you¹ to Cassius's courier when on the 11th our own man arrived, and positively—it must be a miracle—without a letter from you! But I soon guessed that you had been at Lanuvium. As for Eros, he made all haste to get a letter from Dolabella delivered to me—not about my account with him, because he had not yet received mine, but an answer to the one of which I sent you a copy¹, and, I must admit, very clearly put. Well, I had hardly dismissed Cassius's courier² when enter Balbus. Oh! good heavens, how easy it was to see that he is afraid of a peace. You know the man too, how close he is. Well, in spite of this he began telling me all about the plans of Antonius: how he is going the round of the veterans to persuade them to confirm Caesar's acts, and swear that they will insist on having everybody regard them as valid, and on two commissioners making a report upon them month by month. He complained also about his own unpopularity; and on the whole what he said came to this, that he is apparently devoted to Antonius. It is needless

¹ The reference here is to the preceding letter.

3 to say there is no trusting him. As for myself, I have no doubt that things are looking warlike, because even when the deed was done, if the resolution was manly, the execution was puerile. Did anybody indeed fail to see that an heir to the throne was still left? Now what can be more absurd than—

‘To fear the one, but count the other nought’?

Nay, even at this very time there are numerous things which seem almost like *mauvais goût*. Pontius’s estate at Naples in the possession of the Regicide’s mother²! I must read again and again my ‘Cato the Elder,’ which I sent you; because old age makes me inclined to be bitter; I get angry at everything. But then as for me,

‘j’ai vécu, j’ai passé ce desert de la vie’—

these are the affairs of younger men.

4 Will you keep an eye on my concerns, as you are doing now? I am writing, or rather dictating this at Vestorius’s, with the last course already on table. The day after to-morrow I propose to be at Hirtius’s—indeed he is now *le survivant*⁴ of our five. Thus it is that I have designs of bringing the man over to the good side—a *vraie folie* of mine. There is not one of all those gentlemen but is afraid of a peace. Let us therefore see that we have wings to our feet, because anything is better than fighting.

Please give Attica my best love. I am looking for the address of Octavius, and whatever else there may be; particularly whether Dolabella is beginning to rattle any money at all, or whether, so far as regards his account with me, he has declared for a repudiation of debts.

² This alludes to Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, who was in possession, either by the gift of Caesar or by purchase, of the estate of Lucius Pontius Aquila, a member of the senatorial party.

³ Lamartine.

⁴ This allusion it is impossible to explain with certainty. Atticus may have called some five people the *πεντέλοισι*, which Cicero puts into the singular to apply to Hirtius. But, unless the word is corrupt, the Abbé Mongault is very probably right: ‘il y a quelque plaisanterie cachée, dont le sens ne nous est pas connu.’

CXIII. (*AD FAM. XI. 27.*)

FROM CICERO AT TUSCULUM TO GAIUS MATIUS CALVENA NEAR
ROME.

May 28, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Matius was undoubtedly one of the most amiable and attractive characters among all the correspondents of Cicero, and his reply to this letter is one that does him honour. The facts were as follows. Caesar had founded a temple to The Parent Venus, with annual games in honour of the victory of Pharsalus. The expense of these games was this year borne by Octavianus, assisted by Matius and a few others of Caesar's friends. This gave great offence to the more violent party, and it seems that Cicero also had hurt Matius by some of his expressions. His letter to explain himself is not ingenuous, nor consistent with what he was at the same time writing to Atticus. Abeken criticises his conduct here with unusual severity. 'This letter forces us to acknowledge with pain that obstinate devotion to a party will too often induce men, great and honourable in every other respect, to forget all the sentiments of moderation and mercy.'

Merivale, iii. p. 111; Abeken, p. 410: compare on the character of Matius, Merivale, ii. p. 420; Introduction to Letter cv.

I have not as yet quite made up my mind whether our 1
good friend Trebatius, though he is as thoroughly affectionate to you and me as he is always ready to do us a service, has been causing me more pain or more pleasure. For the very day after the evening when I reached my house at Tusculum he came to see me early in the morning, though he had not yet fully recovered his strength; and when I began to find fault with him for making so little allowance for his health, he replied that there was nothing he had waited for so long as to see me. On my saying, 'Why, has anything fresh occurred?' he explained to me your grievance. Now before I give you my answer on this I must point out to you a few preliminary considerations.

As far as my memory will go back into the past I have 2
no friend of longer standing than yourself; but in the length of our friendship many people partake to some degree, not in its affectionate character. The very day I first knew you I felt

a liking for you, and was satisfied that you had a liking for me. After this your withdrawal from Rome, such a long one too as it was, my own taking to politics, and the dissimilarity of our lives would not admit of our mutual inclination being cemented by constant intercourse. Still I had reason to know your feeling towards me years before the Civil War, Caesar being then still in Gaul; because you succeeded, as you thought would be very advantageous for me, and no disadvantage to Caesar himself, in gaining me his liking and respect, and a place in the number of his friends.

I pass over many instances in those days of the perfect familiarity with which we conversed, wrote, and sent messages 3 to one another, because more serious events followed. On the breaking out for example of the Civil War, when you were on your way towards Brundisium to meet Caesar, you came to see me at my house at Formiae. To begin with, how much this meant in itself, especially at such a time! Then do you think I have forgotten your advice, your conversation, your kindness, in all of which, I remember, Trebatius had a part? No, nor yet have I forgotten the letter you wrote me after your meeting with Caesar in the district, 4 I think it was, of Trebula¹. Next came the time when the pressure of my own sensitiveness, or a feeling of obligation, or, if you like, some mere chance, made me set out to join Pompeius. Was any possible act of kindness, any zealous service, ever wanting on your part, either to me when far away, or to my dear ones who were left behind? Was there any one indeed whom all these of mine had reason to consider a truer friend than you either to me or to themselves? I returned to Brundisium; and do you think I have forgotten the eagerness with which, immediately on receipt of the news, you flew from Tarentum to meet me; or your sitting down by me and talking, and encouraging my spirits when they

¹ Probably the Trebula in Campania, now Treglia. See Letter xlv. note 1.

were quite broken down, from dread of the misery in which we were all involved?

That long time passed, and we began to live at Rome; was 5 anything then wanting to make our intimacy complete? Upon those occasions which were most important I followed your advice about my bearing towards Caesar, on all others the dictates of duty. To whom but myself, with the exception of Caesar, did you ever pay the compliment of coming constantly to his house, and there many a time spending long hours in delightful conversation? It was then too, if you remember, that you urged me to write these *brochures* upon philosophical questions². After Caesar's return what object was dearer to you than that in which you were successful—of seeing me established among his most intimate friends?

And now therefore to what is all this argument—a longer 6 one than I had intended—leading up? It is because I was surprised that you, who ought to know all this, should ever have believed that I had done anything which was inconsistent with our friendship; for besides the instances I have recalled to your memory, which are seen and attested by everybody, I have many of a far less obvious kind, which I can hardly succeed in reducing to words. Nothing in you fails to give me pleasure, but chiefly on one side that [unrivalled] fidelity to a friend, that judgment, seriousness, consistency; on another, that grace, refinement, and learning. So now I come back to your grievance.

In the first place, I for my part never believed that on the 7 question of the law you allude to you had recorded your vote at all³; and then if I had believed it I should never suppose you had done so without some adequate reason. It is your high character which makes everything you do be

² The *Academics*, The *Limits of Virtue and Vice* (De *Finibus*), and the *Tusculan Disputations*.

³ This refers to Caesar's equitable act for the relief of debtors: see *Introduction to Letter lxxvi*. Matius answers that so far from supporting the act from interested motives he was a loser by it.

exposed to comment, while the malevolence of the world in some cases publishes it in a less agreeable shape than that of your action in itself. If such things never reach you I scarcely know what to say; for myself, if I ever hear them, I defend you just as much as I am sure to be defended by you against my carping critics. Now I have two ways of defending. There are some things which I should always explicitly contradict, as for example about that particular vote of yours; others which I should maintain were done by you from kind feeling, and regard for the memory of a friend; for example, 8 your undertaking the management of the games⁴. But to you with your great learning it must be obvious that if Caesar was a king—as to me at least seems to be the case—two opposite lines of argument may be taken about the regard you show him; either the one which I myself am in the habit of employing, that your loyalty and kindly feeling, in thus paying the tribute of affection to a friend even after his death, are truly praiseworthy; or the other, which some people do use, that the liberty of our country ought to be put before the life of a friend. After we have been discussing these questions how I wish my arguments were repeated to you! But as to those two which are the chief among your distinctions, who is there that dwells upon them either more warmly or more frequently than I? that it is you who both when you urged us not to begin a civil war, and also to be moderate in the hour of victory, had the greatest weight; and in this I have not found a single person but would agree with me.

For these reasons I am grateful to our good friend Trebatius, who has given me the opportunity of writing this letter. If you are not convinced by it, it will seem that you have persuaded yourself that I am entirely wanting in loyalty and generous feeling; than which nothing could

⁴ To Atticus however (xv. 2) Cicero writes: 'I am not pleased with this preparation for the games, nor with Matius and Postumus for managing them.'

be either a heavier blow to me, or more unlike your character.

CXIV. (AD FAM. XI. 28.)

FROM GAIVS MATIVS CALVENA AT HIS HOUSE NEAR ROME TO
CICERO AT TUSCULUM.

A reply to the preceding letter.

End of May, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

I received great pleasure from your letter, because I found 1
that your opinion of me was what I had hoped and wished
it to be; not that I was in any doubt about it, but for the very
reason that I valued it so highly I was anxious that it should
remain unimpaired. Conscious however that I had done
nothing which could give offence to the feelings of any good
citizen, I was naturally the less inclined to believe that you,
adorned with so many most admirable qualities, could have al-
lowed yourself to be convinced by any idle reports; particularly
seeing that you were a friend for whom my attachment had been
and still was unbroken. And knowing now that it has been
as I hoped, I will answer those attacks which you have often
opposed on my behalf, as was but to be expected from your
great generosity and the friendship between us.

For I am well aware what reflections they have been 2
heaping on me since Caesar's death. They make it a reproach
against me that I suffer for the loss of a friend, and think it
cruel that one whom I loved should have fallen, because, say
they, country must be put before friends—as though they have
hitherto been successful in proving that his death really was
the gain of the commonwealth. But I will not enter any
subtle plea; I admit that I have not soared to your higher
grades of philosophy: for I have neither been a partisan of
Caesar in our civil dissensions—though I did not abandon
my friend even when his procedures were a stumbling-block
to me—nor did I ever give my approval to the Civil War, or

even to the actual ground of quarrel, of which I earnestly desired to see the first sparks trampled out. And so even in the triumph of a personal friend I was never ensnared by the charms either of office or of money; prizes which have been recklessly abused by the rest, though they had less influence with him than I had. I may even say that my own private property was impaired by that act of Caesar, thanks to which many of those who are rejoicing at Caesar's death continued to live in their own country. That our defeated fellow-countrymen should be spared was as much an object to me as my own safety. Is it possible then for me, who wanted all to be left uninjured, not to feel indignation that he by whom this was secured is dead? above all when the very same men were the cause at once of his unpopularity and his untimely end. You shall smart then, say they, since you dare to disapprove of our deed. What unheard-of insolence! One man then may boast of a deed, which another is not even allowed to lament without punishment. Why, even slaves have always been free of this—to feel their fears, their joys, their sorrows as their own, and not at anybody else's dictation; and these are the very things which now, at least according to what your 'liberators' have always in their mouths, they are trying to wrest from us by terrorism. But all to no purpose. There is no danger which has terrors to make me desert the side of gratitude or humanity; for never have I thought that death in a good cause is to be shunned, often indeed that it deserves to be courted. But why are they inclined to be enraged with me if my wishes are simply that they may come to regret their deed, desiring as I do that Caesar's death may be felt to be an untimely one by us all? It is my duty as a citizen to desire the preservation of the constitution? Well, unless both my life in the past and all my hopes for the future prove without any words of mine that I do earnestly desire this, I make no demand to prove it by my professions.

5 To you therefore I make a special appeal to let facts come

before assertions, and to take my word for it that, if you feel that honesty is the best policy, it is impossible I should have any association with lawless villains. Or can you believe that the principles I pursued in the days of my youth, when even error could pass with some excuse, I shall renounce now that I am going down the hill, and with my own hands unravel all the web of a lifetime¹? That I will not do; nor yet will I commit any act that could give offence, beyond the fact that I do lament the sad fall of one who was to me not only the most illustrious of men, but the dearest friend. But were I otherwise disposed, I would never deny what I was doing, lest it should be thought I was at once shameless in doing wrong, and false and cowardly in dissembling it.

But then I undertook the management of those games ⁶ which Caesar's heir celebrated for Caesar's victory? Well, this is a matter which belongs to one's private obligations, not to any political theory; it was however in the first place a tribute of respect which I was called upon to pay to the memory and the eminent position of a man whom I dearly loved, even though he was dead, and also one that I could not refuse at the request of a young man so thoroughly promising, and so worthy in every way of Caesar as he is.

Again, I have frequently paid visits of compliment to the ⁷ consul Antonius. And you will find that the very men who think me but a lukewarm patriot are constantly going to his house in crowds, actually for the purpose of soliciting or carrying away some favour. But what a monstrous claim is this, that while Caesar never laid any such embargo as this associating freely with anybody I pleased, no, not if they were people whom personally he did not like, these men who have robbed me of my friend should attempt by malicious insinuations to prevent my associating with whomsoever I will!

¹ This is perhaps an allusion to Penelope undoing by night the web she herself wove by day.

8 I have however no fears but that the moderation of my life will hereafter shield me sufficiently against these false insinuations, and that even those who do not love me, because of my loyalty to Caesar, would rather have their own friends imitate me than themselves. Such of life as remains to me, at least if I succeed in what I desire, I intend to spend in quiet at Rhodes; but if I find that some chance has put a stop to this I shall simply live at Rome as one who is always desirous that right should be done.

I am deeply grateful to our good friend Trebatius for having thus disclosed to me your sincere and friendly feeling, and given me even an additional reason for honouring and paying respect to one whom it has always been a pleasure to me to regard as a friend. I bid you a warm farewell, and hope you will continue your friendship for me.

CXV. (AD FAM. XII. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT TUSCULUM (?) TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
AT LANUVIUM.

End of May, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

The date of this letter is given by Mr. Watson as the end of May, because it speaks of Dolabella's punishment of the rioters on May 1 as well known, but does not allude to the important meeting of the Senate on June 1, at which Syria was assigned to Antonius. During May Cicero was staying at different country-houses; on the 27th (Ad Att. xv. 3) he was at Tusculum. Brutus and Cassius quitted Rome, which was now hardly safe for them, at the end of April or the beginning of May, and went first to Lanuvium, and thence to Antium.

Merivale, iii. p. 114; Abeken, p. 390. A table of the probable dates of this period is given by Abeken, p. 401.

1 Believe me, Cassius, I never make an end of thinking about you and our dear friend Brutus, or, in other words, about the Republic itself, whose hopes now rest entirely on you two and on Decimus Brutus. These it is true I myself now feel to be better, since my kinsman Dolabella has done his duty to the

constitution so splendidly, because the plague was spreading in town, and gathering such additional strength daily, that I at any rate was beginning to despair of Rome and of any prospect of peace for the city. But the affair has been so nipped in the bud that for all future time it seems to me we shall be free at least from that most humiliating risk. The remainder of our work is both important and varied, but it depends entirely upon you ; let us however take each thing in its proper order.

The fact is that—so far as has been done at present—we seem to have been emancipated from the king's person, but not from the kingly power, for though the king has been put to death we still are on the look out for every royal nod. Even this is not all ; there are things which he himself would not carry out if he were still alive, but which we positively allow on the theory of 'carrying out his ideas.' Nor in this particular proceeding do I see where we are to stop. Schedules of grants are posted, exemptions from taxes allowed, vast sums of money distributed, banished men recalled, spurious decrees of the Senate registered : so that in no respect, it would seem, have we flung off a burden, except in our hatred for a loathsome individual, and the galling sense of slavery ; the Republic is still in that slough of disorder into which it was he who first plunged her.

Out of all this it is for you to clear the way ; nor must you entertain such a thought as this, that your work for the Republic is done. She has indeed already so much of it as even to wish for never came into my mind, but satisfied she is not, and the very grandeur of your courage and your noble gift is her reason for still wanting great things from you. By your hand she has avenged her own wrongs in the fall of her tyrant ; that is all. Of her former glories indeed what has she gained back ? Shall we point to her obedience to a man when dead, who was intolerable to her when living ; or to our making valid the very memoranda of one whose laws it was our duty to blot from the Statute-Book ? But

then we have voted that this should be so¹? Yes, it is true that we did do this, yielding to the force of the times, which in politics has ever the greatest influence; but there are certain people who outrageously and ungratefully abuse our willingness to make concessions. Of this however, and many other things, in a day or two when we meet. Meanwhile I hope you will rest assured that for the sake, not more of our mutual affection than of the Republic which I have always loved so well, the maintenance of your rightful position is one of my most anxious cares. Farewell, and do not neglect your health.

CXVI. (AD FAM. XI. 3.)

FROM MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
AT NAPLES (?) TO MARCUS ANTONIUS AT ROME.

August 4, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

In the important meeting of the Senate on June 1, Syria and Macedonia, which had been promised respectively to Cassius and Brutus, were given to Dolabella and Antonius; while on the 5th Brutus and Cassius were assigned the charge of providing the city with grain, to serve as a reason for their absence from Rome. The next day Cicero had an interview with them at Antium, described in one of his letters to Atticus (xv. 11), in which the utter want of forethought and energy on the part of the conspirators is strikingly obvious. They were very unwilling to leave Italy, and remained in the neighbourhood of Naples for some time, applying meanwhile for a formal release from their obligation as praetors to reside at Rome. Antonius seems to have replied by a letter of intimidation to hasten their departure from Italy, and by a proclamation denouncing their conduct as illegal, which produced this angry but impotent manifesto. At the end of September Brutus sailed for Macedonia, and Cassius for Syria, in order to secure those provinces before the arrival of Antonius and Dolabella.

Merivale, iii. pp. 116-123, 132; Abeken, pp. 402-410; Forsyth, pp. 438-441.

¹ The validity of Caesar's acts, a phrase extended afterwards to include the intended acts for which memoranda could be found, was carried in the important meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, March 17. But even in the First Philippic, which was spoken on September 1, Cicero declared (§ 16): 'In the first place I hold that Caesar's acts ought to be maintained.'

Sir¹,—We have read your letter, which is thoroughly in 1 keeping with your edict, being an insulting, intimidating, and in every way improper one for you to have written to us. We, Sir, have given you no provocation to injury, nor did we believe that you would think it extraordinary for men in such a position as ours, and praetors too, to have made in a public manifesto an appeal to the consul for some privilege. If however you are indignant at our daring to do this, permit us at least to regret that to a Brutus and a Cassius you would refuse even this.

For as to your denial that you have ever made a complaint 2 that troops were being levied, requisitions of money enforced, the army tampered with, and secret despatches sent abroad, we indeed give you credit for having made it in all sincerity; but yet while we refuse to admit the truth of any one of these assertions we are surprised to find that if you have been able to refrain from making these statements you have been so little able to control your passion as to make the death of Caesar the subject of an attack upon us.

We leave it however for you to reflect how far it can be 3 considered tolerable that two praetors should not be allowed in the interests of peace and liberty to publish a proclamation that they will withdraw from some of their rights without being menaced with armed violence by the consul. Your confidence in that resort however has nothing to terrify us; because it would be as degrading or even unnatural for us in view of any personal risk to surrender the freedom of our convictions, as it is wrong for Antonius to claim lordship over those by whose exertions he is a free man. As to ourselves, did other considerations call upon us to seek to fan the flame of civil war, your letter would have no effect at all, for a free man acknowledges no authority in a threat. But your eyes are quite keen enough to see that we are not to be driven in any direction at all; and probably the real reason for your threatening attitude is that our deliberate resolve may seem like timidity.

¹ *s. v. b.* See Letter iii, note 1.

- 4 Our personal sentiments are these. We are anxious to see you held in dignity and honour if it be in a free Republic. We challenge you to no antagonism, but nevertheless we value our liberty more than your friendship. Do you then consider again and again what you are undertaking, what your strength is able to endure; and be sure you bear in mind not how long Caesar lived, but how he was not long a king. May God grant that your counsels be guided to the welfare of the Republic and of yourself; if this be too much to hope, our wish for you is that they may do you as little injury as is consistent with the safety and dignity of the Commonwealth.

August 4th.

CXVII. (AD ATT. XVI. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON BOARD SHIP TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August 19, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the 6th of August Cicero sailed from Leucopetra, the extreme south-west promontory of Italy, for Syracuse, *en route* for Athens. Contrary winds however twice drove him back to his starting-point, and on the second occasion he heard an unfounded report that Brutus and Cassius had come to a friendly understanding with Antonius, and had pressed their friends to muster in full force in the Senate on September 1. Abandoning his intention therefore, he sailed for Pompeii, in order to proceed to Rome, and touching at Velia, on the coast of Lucania, met Brutus, who destroyed his hopes of any such understanding, but encouraged him still to go on, informing him of a bitter attack which had been made upon Antonius by Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law. Cicero reached Rome just in time for the meeting of the Senate, and seems there to have met with a warm reception.

This letter was written on board shortly before reaching Pompeii.

Merivale, iii. pp. 133-4; Abeken, pp. 416-8; Forsyth, pp. 445-6.

- 1 After making a start on the 6th of August from Leucopetra—that being the place from which I intended to cross—I had sailed about thirty or forty miles when a violent south-wind drove me back to Leucopetra again. While waiting there for a fair wind—for our old friend Valerius has a villa there, so that I was making a very pleasant stay in his hospitable

house—some gentlemen of position who live at Rhegium came there, just arrived of course from Rome; among them was one who had been staying with Brutus, and had just left him, so he told me, at Naples. They brought us several pieces of news: that Brutus and Cassius had issued a proclamation, that there was to be a full Senate on the 1st, and that Brutus and Cassius had written to the ex-consuls and praetors to entreat their attendance. They reported that there were strong expectations that Antonius would in the end give way, a compromise would be made, and our friends allowed to return to Rome: they added indeed that I was much wanted, possibly a little blamed. Having heard all this I without any hesitation abandoned the idea of sailing, which even before this I give you my word of honour I was not inclined to like; though it is true that when I 2 read your letter I, for my part, was surprised that you had so emphatically changed your opinion, but I supposed it was not without some reason. Still granting that you were not the adviser and instigator of my going, you certainly were one of those who approved of it, on condition that I would be at Rome on the first day of the year. This is in effect that I was to be away so long as there seemed to be not so much danger, and only to step back straight into the fire. But all this, even if it was not quite prudent, is at any rate no reason for *chagrin* with you, because in the first place it was done on my own responsibility, and secondly, even supposing you were the first to advise it, what is a friend answerable for when he does give advice except that his intentions are faithful? There 3 is one thing at which I could not wonder sufficiently—your having written to me in such terms as these: ‘go then and desert your country; it is well in you—well in the man who was *pro patria non timidus mori*¹’ What! was I abandoning, did I even

¹ Horace, Ode iii. 19. 2. *Eὐδαμονία* seems to be generally taken here of an honourable death, but it may be questioned whether the idea intended is not rather that of *desirable* (Keats’ ‘easeful death’), as it certainly is in Suetonius, Octavius, c. 99. The MS. reading here is intolerably harsh, though it is just

seem to you to be abandoning it then? You yourself, so far from objecting to this course, gave it your approbation. What remains is still more severe. 'I wish you would draw me up in a finished shape a sort of *relevé*, that you felt bound to take the course you did.' My dear Atticus, is it really come to this? Does my conduct stand in need of any defence, and before you of all people, who gave it such marked approval? However I certainly will compose the 'Apologia' which you want, but it shall be for the use of some one of those people in spite of whose wishes and dissuasions I started. And yet where is the use of any such *relevé* now? It would have been useful if I had persisted in my intention. But this is just where I was not acting consistently? No philosopher, much as has been written on this subject, has ever yet affirmed that a change
 4 of plans is the same as inconsistency. So you follow this up with the remark, 'Had our good friend Phaedrus indeed been responsible³, the defence would have been obvious: what answer is there under present circumstances?' It follows then that my action was such as I could not have got Cato to sanction—it was loaded, I suppose, with infamy and disgrace! If that had only been your way of thinking from the first, to me you would, as you usually are, have been the Cato.
 5 Positively the most vexatious of all is your conclusion:

capable of translation. Most editors adopt Orelli's reading, 'Veni igitur, &c., Relinques patriam!' Boot suggests 'visne' and 'relinquere.' It is not certain whether any extant passage of Cicero is referred to by Atticus. Manutius first suggested Ad Att. xv. 20. 2: 'I have determined to make my way out of this trap, not to escape, but in hopes of the death which is preferable.' Billerbeck and Schütz refer to Tusc. Quaest. i. 45: 'But surely death is then met with the greatest equanimity when the life as it closes can console itself with its own glories.' Dean Merivale, iii. 134, thinks that the lost Treatise on Glory (see Introduction to Letter cxxii) may have supplied the allusion.

³ The reading *esset*, retained by Mr. Watson, necessitates a harsh omission, such as *factum*. The Medicean MS. has *esse*, from which Boot happily conjectures *esses*; then a *Phaedro* = 'of the school of Phaedrus,' an Epicurean philosopher who died seven years before (Ad Fam. xiii. 1). This gives the far more spirited meaning: Had you been an Epicurean like Phaedrus, one would know what to say; but what about a professed Stoic? Would Cato approve?

‘For as to our friend Brutus, he says nothing.’ That means that he does not presume to lecture a man of my years. I find no other meaning I can suppose to be intended by you in these words; and I give you my word that this is the truth. For my arrival at Velia on the 17th of August reached the ears of Brutus, he being then with his squadron inside the mouth of the river Hales, some three miles this side of Velia. Immediately he was on foot to find me. And, bless me, in his delight at my return—I should rather say my turning back—how he did pour out everything he had kept silence about before! so that I was reminded of what you had told me: ‘As to our friend Brutus he says nothing.’ What he particularly regretted was that I had not been in the Senate on the 1st of August. Piso he extolled to the skies. It however was to him a pleasure to think that I had cleared myself of two heavy imputations: the one—that of want of spirit, and of deserting my post in the Republic,—which is what I saw I was incurring by undertaking this journey, was reproachfully argued against me by numbers of people with tears in their eyes, whom I could not get to believe in my speedy return; the other was what Brutus and his friends (and they were very numerous) were so pleased about—I mean my having got out of the scandal of really only going to the Olympic games! Certainly nothing could have been more contemptible than this, let the circumstances of the Republic be what you will; in their present state it would indeed have been a thing *sans excuse*. Truly I owe wonderful thanks to the south-wind for having kept me out of such a disgrace. Here e you have [presentable] reasons for my turning back, and indeed they are both just and weighty, though none are juster than what came from yourself in another letter: ‘Be sure if you have any creditor at all to provide yourself with means for paying up in full, because the alarm of a war has produced a quite unparalleled *disette* in the money-market.’ When I read this letter I was in the middle of the straits, so that no possible way of making any provision occurred to

me, except that I should be on the spot, and defend my own interests. But enough of this now—the rest when we meet.

7 Brutus let me read the manifesto of Antonius, and their reply. It is a fine composition: but honestly I do not see what can be the effect or what is the use of these manifestoes; nor am I for my part coming back amongst you, as Brutus was supposing, with any view of taking part in politics. For what is there which can be done? Did a soul support Piso? Did even he return to the charge next day? But at my age they say nobody ought to go far from the place where he will be buried³.

8 But do tell me, I entreat you, what this means which I have heard from Brutus. He told me you said of Pilia in a letter, that she was '*menacée d'une paralysie*⁴.' I was terribly shocked, though he added also that your letter spoke of there being better hopes. I trust it is so, I am sure. Will you give her and my pet Attica my kindest remembrances?

I am writing this on board, just as we are approaching my house at Pompeii. August 19.

CXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
IN SYRIA (?).

Late in September, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Cicero did not make his appearance in the Senate on the 1st of September, and in his absence was violently attacked by Antonius. Cicero retorted next day by the delivery of the First Philippic, in a meeting of the Senate at which Dolabella presided, Antonius being on this occasion absent. Though moderate in the extreme compared with the remainder of these fourteen terrible invectives it infuriated Antonius, who in another meeting on the 19th un-

³ This is the version of Manutius. Mr. Watson explains the passage as = a man of my age ought not to shrink from death.

⁴ The Greek words here probably have no special significance, Greek being generally used for medical terms. See p. 329, and Mr. Tyrrell's Introduction, p. 83. But again Cicero may be quoting the words used by Atticus, who wrote nearly as much in Greek as in Latin.

wisely entered the oratorical lists with Cicero, and attacked him in a speech which apparently was incoherent with passion. Cicero remained in Rome till October, when he withdrew to Puteoli, and was at this time engaged in composing his greatest speech, the celebrated Second Philippic.

Some time after their interview with Cicero at Velia, Brutus and Cassius left Italy, the former for Macedonia, the latter for Syria, in order to occupy those provinces before the consulship of Antonius and Dolabella, to whom they were now assigned by the Senate, had expired.

Merivale, iii. pp. 135-9, 145; Abeken, pp. 418-421, 424; Forsyth, pp. 451-456.

I am intensely delighted to have your approval of my ¹ opinion, and also of my speech; a privilege which, if I could use it more frequently, would make it no trouble at all to regain the Republic and our lost liberties. But this fellow, lost to all reason in his abandoned career, and more wicked by far than even he of whom you said 'now the most wicked of mankind has fallen,' is anxious to begin murdering, and charges me with having been an instigator of killing Caesar for no other reason except that the veterans may be excited against me—a danger which I myself do not greatly dread, if it but impart to my reputation some little share in the glory of your deed. Neither Piso therefore, who was, and that without a single supporter, the first to inveigh against him, nor I myself who did the same thing exactly a month afterwards, nor Publius Servilius who followed my lead, can make our appearance with safety in the Senate-house: because the butcher is eager for slaughter, and expected to begin with me on the 19th of September, by which day he came up quite ready for his part, having studied it ever so many days before in Scipio's villa. What study however can there possibly be in the midst of drinking and debauchery? And so, as I told you in my previous letter, everybody thought that he seemed, quite characteristically, to be *bringing up* his eloquence rather than bringing it out.

As to the confidence therefore which you express in your ² letter, that a good deal is capable of being done by my

authority and eloquence, some progress, considering what great troubles we are in the midst of, has now been made, because all Rome sees that there are three ex-consuls who, simply because they have as free men spoken their patriotic sentiments about the Republic, cannot without risk take their place in the Senate. And beyond this there is nothing for you to expect; for your kinsman is delighted with the new match in his family¹; and so he is no longer interested about the games, and quite ready to burst at the immense applause which is given to your brother. For another of your family again a sop has been provided by some fresh memoranda of Caesar. All this however one can put up with; the one thing which is quite intolerable is that a man can be found to think of his son being elected consul in the year which properly belongs to you two, and openly boast for such
3 a reason that he is the bond-slave of this cut-throat. For as to my dear friend, Lucius Cotta, it has pleased Heaven, he says, to fill him with a sort of despair, and he does not come so much to the Senate; Lucius Caesar, one of our best and bravest citizens, is hindered by his health; Servius Sulpicius, who has both very great authority and most truly patriotic sentiments, is not here. Excuse me if I do not take into account the other people of consular rank, excepting the two who have been nominated for next year². Here you have all the leaders of the national policy: and if it would be a scanty number enough at the best of times, what does it seem to you in such a hopeless case? All our hope therefore is in you two; and

¹ Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, afterwards the triumvir, was connected with Cassius by marriage, both of them having married sisters of Marcus Brutus; and a son of his had recently married a daughter of Marcus Antonius. It was the right of Brutus, as the city prætor, to preside at the Games of Apollo, which were held on July 6, but in his absence Lucius Cassius took his place. On such an occasion some applause of the President was natural; but at this period applause was seldom given without being interpreted as having a political meaning. The other connection of Cassius here alluded to, and the man who expected his son to be consul, are quite unknown.

² Gaius Vibius Pansa, and Aulus Hirtius.

if you have no reason for absence now except that you may be in some place of safety, it is not to be found even in you. But if you are now engaged on some scheme worthy of your glorious name, may this happen before I am taken! If however that be too great a boon, the Republic shall nevertheless in a short time re-assert by your hands her ancient rights. I for my part am not nor ever will be forgetful of those whom you love; whether they appeal to my judgment or not, they shall always be assured of my unalterable regard for yourself. Adieu.

CXIX. (AD FAM. XII. 23.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS IN AFRICA.

October, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

For an account of Quintus Cornificius see Letter ciii. At this time he was Governor of the old province of Africa.

The hollow friendship between Octavianus and Antonius did not last long. Much excitement had even been caused at Rome by the report of an attempt made by Octavianus upon the life of the consul, which is mentioned by a great many writers, but was vehemently denied by Octavianus, and rests upon doubtful evidence at best. 'Cicero alludes to the rumour,' says Dean Merivale, 'and insinuates its truth, but he is evidently trying to encourage his correspondent Cornificius by representing the precariousness of the consul's power; and after all he cannot help admitting that it was generally disbelieved.' Soon afterwards Antonius left for Brundisium to encourage the four legions commanded by his brother Gaius, which had been summoned from Macedonia, but were now greatly irritated at the immunity allowed to Caesar's murderers. Octavianus meanwhile was enlisting a strong force in Campania.

The date of this letter is apparently about the middle of October, because we find that by the 25th Cicero was at Puteoli.

Merivale, iii. pp. 139-143; Abeken, pp. 422-6; Forsyth, p. 464.

The whole position of your government and the state of affairs in the province has been fully described to me by Tratorius. Oh, how many intolerable burdens there are everywhere! But in proportion as your position is higher, that which has befallen you is even less to be endured; for it does not follow that what you calmly bear, thanks to the magnanimity both of your temper and intellect, is not

to be avenged, even if it is not to be repined at. But of this hereafter.

2 I am quite sure that a gazette of the news in town is sent to you; if I did not suppose this to be the case I would myself describe things in full, and above all the attempt of Octavianus Caesar. About this the opinion of the mass of people is that it is a charge trumped up by Antonius, to enable him to make a raid upon the young heir's estate: men however who are keen-sighted and patriotic not only believe that it really happened, but commend it. At any rate there are great hopes in him: there is nothing in the world people think he will not do for the sake of name and fame. As to our very dear friend Antonius, he perceives that he is such an object of hatred that after having himself detected men employed to assassinate him in his own house he does not venture to make the matter public! On the 9th of October he was off for Brundisium to meet the four legions from Macedonia, which he proposes to bring to Rome, having first attached them to himself by bribery, and plant them firmly on our necks.

3 Such is the form of our constitution, if a 'constitution' can possibly exist in a camp; and in this respect I often am sorry on your account that owing to your age you have never been able even so much as to taste the good things of a sound and healthy Republic. Moreover it was always open, at least until the present time, at any rate to live in hope. Now even that has been snatched away; for what hope is there when Antonius has dared to say before the people that Cannutius was trying to get himself a place with men who if he was spared could never have any place allowed them in
4 the commonwealth. For my own part, if I endure this and anything else that can befall a human being I feel that I owe a great debt to philosophy, which not only beguiles me of my anxiety, but even arms me against all the buffets of fortune; and it is my opinion not only that you should do the same, but that nothing which is free from reproach can

be put down among misfortunes. But all this it is better to leave to yourself.

Though I have always had reason to esteem our friend Tratorius, it is most particularly in your service that I have learnt to know his extreme loyalty and care, and also his tact. Be sure you keep yourself well; you cannot give me any greater pleasure than this.

CXX. (AD FAM. XI. 4).

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE GAUL TO CICERO
AT PUTEOLI.

About November, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the dispersion of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, after remaining in the city longer than the others, assumed the government of Cisalpine Gaul (Northern Italy), which had been promised him by Caesar. Here instead of attempting to play any important part in the critical struggle of the Commonwealth, he amused himself and his soldiers by some useless raids upon the mountaineers of Savoy and Piedmont. This brief and soldier-like letter is written to ask for Cicero's support for his slender claim to a triumph, which was readily promised. Such anxiety in the circumstances of this terrible crisis curiously reproduces Cicero's own at the very commencement of the Civil War (see p. 169): yet Decimus Brutus was probably on the whole the ablest of the conspirators.

Decimus in this letter styles himself 'Imperator,' having been so saluted by his soldiers after one of these petty successes, and also 'consul-designate,' as having been nominated by Caesar together with Plancus for the consulship of the year 42 B.C.

Merivale, iii. 114-6; Abeken, p. 422.

Were I in any doubt about your willingness to oblige me I would make a lengthened appeal to you to watch the interests of my position; but there is no doubt that the truth is in reality just what I have convinced myself that it is, namely that I can count upon your watchful care.

I marched against the mountaineers of the Alps, not so much from any ambition of being saluted with military honours, as because I desired to satisfy my troops, and make them firmly attached to the support of our interests. This object I have now, it seems to me, attained, since they have

had proof of both my liberality and my courage. I have waged war against the most warlike people in the world, taken many and plundered many of their villages: it justified my sending a despatch to the Senate. Give me the advantage of your support in the House; when you do this you will to an important extent have been subserving the interests of the Commonwealth.

CXXI. (AD ATT. XVI. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

November 2, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Octavianus having by lavish bounties succeeded in enlisting 10,000 men in Campania, marched with them to Ravenna, where his numbers were still further increased, and then fixed his head-quarters at Arretium (*Arezzo*). It was now evident that the sword would shortly be drawn. Antonius hearing of these proceedings hastened back from Brundisium to Rome, in order to obtain further powers from the Senate against Octavianus. See Introduction to Letter cxxiii.

Merivale, iii. pp. 140-144; Abeken, 429-30; Forsyth, 464-6.

- 1 As soon as I know on what day I am likely to come I will take care to let you know. I must wait for the heavy baggage, which is on its way from Anagnia, and there is some illness in the house. A letter for me from Octavianus on the evening of the 1st;—he has great schemes. The veterans who are at Casilinum and Calatia¹ he has entirely brought over to his views—no wonder; his bounty is 500 denarii apiece²! He proposes to go the round of the other military settlements: obviously what he has in view is to put himself at the head of an army to fight Antonius; and so I see that in a few days we shall all be in arms. Who

¹ Casilinum is the modern town of Capua, about three miles from the old town. Calatia is now Le Galazze, about six miles in the opposite direction. Many of Caesar's veterans had received grants of land in these parts.

² The denarius at this time was worth (see Dict. Ant.) about 8½d., which would make the bounty between £17 and £18. Antonius was afterwards obliged to raise his own bounty to the same sum.

however is to be our leader? Look at the name, look at the age. And he writes to ask that in the first place I will grant him a strictly private interview either at Capua, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of Capua. Surely it is childish if he supposes that this could possibly be private. I have written to inform him that what he asks is neither necessary nor practicable. He sent one Caecina of Volaterrae, an intimate friend of his, to me; who brought the news that Antonius with the Fifth³ was advancing towards Rome, exacting loans from the country towns, and marching under flying colours. He wanted to consult me whether he should set out for Rome with three thousand of the veterans, or occupy Capua and cut off the route of Antonius, or go to meet the three Macedonian legions now making their way by the coast-road along the Adriatic, which are, he hopes, all for him. They refused, at any rate according to this man's account, to accept a largess from Antonius, and after some vehement abuse of him left him in the middle of his harangue. In short he offers himself as our leader, and thinks it will not be right for us to fail him. I myself recommended that he should proceed to Rome, as it seems to me that he will have not only the residuum of the city, but, if he has once given us reason for believing in him, the good men too on his side. Oh, Brutus! where are you now? how you are throwing away your *bonne fortune*! I did not indeed prophesy this, but I expected that something of the kind would happen.

Now I am trying every way to get your advice. Am I to come to Rome, or stay here, or take refuge at Arpinum—it is a place which is now *à l'abri*—or at Rome, in case I should be wanted if it shall hereafter appear that something has really been done? So give me the answer to this: I have never felt more *aux abois* in my life.

³ The famous fifth legion, called the Alaudae (Larks) from a crest on the helmet, was first raised in Transalpine Gaul by Caesar. It remained throughout faithful to Antonius.

CXXII. (AD ATT. XVI. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

November 5, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Towards the end of October Cicero completed the Second Philippic, and sent it to Atticus to be revised. The present letter is in part an acknowledgment of the criticisms passed, which, considering the length and passionate imprudence, as well as the splendid eloquence of the great Philippic, are of the most trivial character, and not calculated to raise our ideas of the critical power of Atticus. The allusions in the first paragraph are taken by Boot and others to refer to the treatise on 'Glory,' which had been sent in July to Atticus (Ad Att. xvi. 2, 6), but it is quite possible that the whole section refers to the Second Philippic only.

The Second Philippic was never delivered, but was published at the end of November, after the departure of Antonius, as though it had been spoken on September 19. Its immediate effect was very considerable, as it made Cicero again the virtual leader of the Senate, and this period of his life is generally considered its most admirable one by his biographers.

Cicero's literary activity at this time was no less than his political. Besides a mass of letters to nearly all the members of the Senatorial party abroad, the series of Philippics, the two books on Glory (a MS. of these was in the possession of Petrarch, but has since been lost), and other works, he published about this time his graceful treatise on Duty (*De Officiis*), based on the Stoic philosopher Panaetius.

The present letter, which abounds in obscure allusions, is the last in this selection addressed to Atticus. Only four or five of the extant letters to Atticus are of later date, and it is probable that hardly any others were written, because early in December Cicero joined Atticus at Rome, and the two friends were not again separated till shortly before Cicero's murder. Atticus remained, characteristically, on friendly terms with both Antonius and Octavianus, and died in 32 B.C. His daughter Attica, so often mentioned in these letters, married Marcus Agrippa; and their daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the first wife of the Emperor Tiberius.

Merivale, iii. pp. 150-1; Abeken, pp. 426-9; Forsyth, pp. 457, 465, 468; Dict. Biog. i. p. 733; Mr. Watson, Appendix iii.

- 1 To-day—the 5th—I have received two letters from you, one of which you had written on the 1st, the other the day before: so now for the earlier one first.

I am very glad you like my work; and you have certainly quoted from it the *crème de la crème*; which seems now to me

after your criticism to be richer than before, because I was terribly afraid of that little red pencil of yours. As to Sicca it is just as you say; only it was difficult to stop myself from including her¹. And so without the slightest defamation of Sicca or Septimia I will lay the lash on just sufficiently for 'our sons' sons, to ages yet unborn' to possess the knowledge—and that too not 'walled up,' as Lucilius used to say he liked²—that this man has had children born to him by a daughter of Gallus Fadius³. And oh! that I may live to see the day when that speech may go about everywhere so freely as actually to make its way into Sicca's own house: but to do that we must have such times back as there were *under the triumvirs*⁴. May I die but that is rather neatly put! You

¹ See Phil. ii. 2. § 3, and Mr. King's note. Sicca was a Sicilian friend of Cicero, with whose wife Septimia Antonius had an intrigue (compare note 4, below); and it seems that at Atticus' suggestion Cicero suppressed the details of a suit improperly hushed up by Antonius, out of regard for his friend Sicca, whose wife was compromised. For 'asta ea,' 'ast ab ea' or 'ab ista' (Boot) is an easy correction.

² 'Lucilius used to say that he did not wish to be read by the learned or the unlearned.' Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 6. 25.

³ Phil. ii. 2. 3. Antonius' second wife, Fadia, was the daughter of a freed-man, Quintus Fadius. This was regarded as a terrible *mésalliance*.

⁴ This is one of the most disputed passages in the whole of the letters. Mr. Watson renders 'which we had under the triumvirs, i.e. from 59-53 B.C.,' but his remark, 'a reference perhaps to the greater freedom which prevailed,' would surely be a simple statement, without the least trace of the wit discovered in it by Cicero. Prof. Nettleship (Addenda to Mr. Watson's 2nd ed. p. 649) suggests 'the times *which are over now* that those three Antonii, Marcus, Gaius, and Lucius, are our triumvirs.' This might just possibly be considered a joke, but is intolerably harsh, and also involves a doubtful use of 'illis,' which should be rather 'his' or 'istis.' Gronovius, followed by Orelli, cuts the knot by reading 'quo fuerint,' = when these three Antonii are dead. Schütz, Boot, and Billerbeck think Caesar and Pompeius are called '*triviri*' as having both been married three times—an extraordinarily forced and unintelligible joke. The point referred to in '*facete*' is a *double entendre* conveyed in '*tribus viris*.' Cicero says, 'I want my speech to make its way into Sicca's house, however he may try to keep it out, but to penetrate there we ought to have the days of "the triumvirate" back again, when Antonius and two unnamed lovers who had an intrigue with Sicca's wife, Septimia, used frequently to make their way in.'

- however will of course read it to Peducaeus, and write his opinion of it in full—*il me vaut dix mille autres*. You will be careful that Fufius and Bald-Head⁵ do not drop in at the time.
- 2 As for your fear of being '*ennuyant*,' could any one be less? and to me too, to whom every letter of yours seems the best just in proportion as it is the longest, as Aristophanes thought of a satire of Archilochus. And as for your 'lecturing' me, why even if you were to begin fault-finding I should not only put up with it easily, but should be positively pleased, since your fault-finding combines penetration with *bienveillance*. So I will willingly correct those points which have been noted by you: 'the same title, I suppose, as he had to the wealth of Rubrius' instead of to that of Scipio⁶; and I will cut down somewhat anything which has been piled up too high in praise of Dolabella. And yet in the very place you mean there is, it seems to me, a delicate *souppçon* of irony in saying that 'thrice upon the battle-field he met his fellow-countrymen⁷.' Again, I prefer the form 'it is more disgraceful that he should be still alive' to 'what can be more disgraceful⁸?'
- 3 I am not sorry to find you approve of the 'Procession of Worthies' which Varro (from whom I have not succeeded in getting his 'Heracleidia') is thinking of⁹. And as to your

⁵ Quintus Fufius Calenus, who is mentioned in Letter xi. § 1, had been a supporter of Clodius, and was now a personal friend of Antonius, and therefore hateful to Cicero: Calvena is the nickname of Gaius Matius, the author of the charming letter, No. cxiv. See Letter cvi, note 1.

⁶ Phil. ii. 40. 103. Cicero seems to have accused Antonius of getting Scipio's villa at Tibur by underhand means, but owing to this suggestion of Atticus the name of Lucius Rubrius was substituted, who had bequeathed to him, apparently rather for political than personal reasons, a villa at Casinum.

⁷ Phil. ii. 30. 75. 'Thrice did Caesar fight with his own countrymen—in Thessaly, in Africa, in Spain. At each of these battles was Dolabella present . . . but what shall we say of you?' Cicero therefore did not expunge the passage, but he may have toned it down.

⁸ Phil. ii. 34. 86. As the passage however retains the second of these two forms it is uncertain whether Cicero changed, though reluctantly, at Atticus' suggestion what he had written, or whether he omitted to make a change which he thought a good one.

⁹ The work which Cicero here calls 'Peplographia' is apparently Varro's 'Heb-

exhortations to me to write, from you it comes in a friendly way, but I can assure you that I do nothing else as it is. Your influenza makes me anxious; do, I entreat you, be as careful as ever. It is pleasant to hear that my 'O Titus'¹⁰ has done you good. As to those people of Anagnia, I meant 'le Capitaine' Mustela, and Laco, who is a mighty toper¹¹. The book which you ask for¹² I will give the last polish to, and let you have it.

Now I come to the second letter. The 'De Officiis,' so far as Panaetius goes, I have completed in two books; there are three in his, but though in the prefatory part he divides the methods of enquiry about duty into three—the first being when we deliberate whether anything is honourable or base, the second, whether it is or is not to our interest, the third how we are to make our decision when these two characteristics seem to be mutually conflicting, as was the case for example

domades, sive Imagines,' one of the most curious and interesting productions of antiquity. It consisted of a series of 700 portraits of celebrated characters, apparently reproduced by some lost method of engraving which had been lately discovered, with a short life and an epigram attached to each. The name is difficult to render adequately: it alludes to the Athenian procession of the 'Peplus,' or sacred vestment of Athene, on which were embroidered mythological and heroic subjects. Teuffel remarks on Varro's fondness for strange Greek titles, but this may be Cicero's own invention. See Teuffel's *Hist. of Roman Literature*, i. pp. 240, 244; Bekker's *Gallus*, p. 30; Cruttwell's *Roman Literature*, p. 150; *Dict. Biogr.* iii. p. 1226; *Dict. Ant.* p. 856. The principal ancient account of it is in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 2. The 'Heracleidia' seems to be a philosophical work, based on Heracleides of Pontus.

¹⁰ The treatise on Old Age, which begins with some verses of Ennius, addressed to Titus Flamininus, the conqueror of Macedonia.

¹¹ In the Second Philippic (42. § 106) Cicero speaks of Antonius 'having with him two men of Anagnia, Mustela and Laco, one of whom is his first swordsman, the other his first cups-man.' As Atticus did not understand the allusion these names must have been omitted in the first draft.

¹² This is generally supposed to be the 'Topica,' an adaptation in Latin of Aristotle's work of the same name, which treats of the Invention of Arguments. The history of this book is interesting. Trebatius the jurist had complained to Cicero that he could not find any plain explanation of Aristotle's meaning. When Cicero started on his interrupted voyage, the sight of Velia, with which Trebatius was connected, reminded him of this, and he drew up the work from memory. *Dict. Biog.* i. p. 726; Forsyth, p. 444.

with Regulus, when honour bade him go back, self-interest remain where he was—he has treated the first two splendidly, and promises to proceed to the third, but has not written anything. This part has been fully followed up by Posidonius; while I have not only sent for his book, but have written to Athenodorus Calvus to send me a *précis* of his divisions, which I am now expecting; will you please remind and intreat him to lose no time. In this comes the chapter which he entitles ‘On the Casuistry of Duty.’ And speaking of your question about the name of the book I have no doubt but that *officium* is a proper equivalent of the Greek word, unless you have any other suggestion, but the title more in full will be ‘De Officiis.’ As for the dedication, it is *à l’adresse de mon fils*, Marcus: it seemed to me that this would not be *mal-à-propos*.

- 5 You saw to the bottom all about Myrtilus¹³. What descriptions you always give of those fellows Attack Brutus indeed! Heaven give them what they deserve.
- 6 I did not do as I said in my letter, and hide away in my house at Pompeii, first because of the weather, which could not possibly have been fouler, and moreover every day I had a letter from Octavianus asking me to undertake his cause, and be a second time the saviour of the Republic; and to come to Capua, or at all events at once to Rome. Between fear of accepting and shame at refusing

‘hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt¹⁴.’

However he certainly has acted and is acting with vigour. He will come to Rome with a large force, but then he is quite a mere boy; he thinks that to gain the Senate is the work of a moment. Who will attend? Who, supposing that he has attended, will where things are so doubtful make

¹³ A man named Myrtilus had been accused of attempting the life of Antonius, and it was said, not unnaturally, that he was instigated by Decimus Brutus. Cicero’s indignation makes him here so spasmodic that he would be unintelligible in a literal translation.

¹⁴ Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 64. Cicero is quoting from Homer, Il. vii. 93.

an enemy of Antonius? - When the new year comes perhaps he will be able to be their shield, or it will actually be fought out to the end before then. The country-towns seem to be marvellously in favour of the lad, for he passed through Cales on his march to Samnium, making a halt at Teanum¹⁵: the *accueil* he received and the encouragement were wonderful—could you believe this? Owing to this circumstance I shall to Rome quicker than I had arranged for: as soon as ever I have made my plans I will write.

Though I have not read the conditions—Eros not having⁷ as yet arrived—still I should like you to effect a settlement by the 12th. I shall be better able to send letters to Catina, Tauromenium¹⁶, and Syracuse when the interpreter, Valerius, has let me have the names of the influential people, because these vary at different times, and those whom I was intimate with have mostly died off; still I have written some in an official form, which Valerius can make use of if he thinks good, or else he can let me have the names.

I hear from Balbus about Lepidus' vacation—it is to last⁸ until the 30th¹⁷. I shall wait for a letter from you, and I suppose I shall hear about the little matter of business with Torquatus. I send you Quintus's letter to show you how much he loves his boy, when he is so pained to find you do not much like him. Give Attica a kiss for being such a merry little thing—it is best that children should be so,—and tell her that it comes from me.

¹⁵ Teanum (Teano) and Cales (Calvi) were both on the Latin Road.

¹⁶ In Sicily. now Catania and Taormina.

¹⁷ Lepidus had succeeded Caesar as Pontifex Maximus, and it is thought that this refers to days fixed by him in that capacity for taking the auspices, which would imply a vacation of the Senate. But the allusion is somewhat doubtful.

CXXIII. (AD FAM. XI. 5).

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO DECIMUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE
GAUL.

About the middle of December, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

This letter, like Nos. cxxv, cxxvi, and cxxvii, seems to be one of a series which Cicero wrote to encourage the leading partisans of the Senate in the provinces, Decimus Brutus in Northern Italy, Marcus Brutus in Macedonia, Cassius in Syria, and Trebonius in Asia Minor.

The consuls for the new year were Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, both moderate Caesarians, but opposed to the proceedings of Antonius. The latter was an officer and author of some ability. Antonius on the 28th of November marched with four legions against Decimus Brutus, who shut himself up in Mutina (Modena), the strongest fortress of his province, where he was immediately besieged.

Merivale, iii. pp. 144, 153, 158; Abeken, 434-5; Forsyth, 472-4.

- 1 Though our friend Lupus did come from you and was staying some days in town, I was in different places at the time where I thought I could most safely be; thus it happened that Lupus returned to you without a letter from me, and that too though he had taken care to see that yours was safely delivered to me. I came to Rome however on the 11th of December, and considered it my first duty immediately to call on Pansa, from whom I have learnt about you the very things I most wanted to hear. And assuredly you are not one to need encouragement in this matter, if you wanted no one to encourage you even in that great deed of yours, which is
- 2 the greatest ever done in the history of mankind. This much however should perhaps be briefly pointed out: that the people of Rome expect everything from you, and rest upon you all the hope they have of one day recovering their liberties. But if you bear in mind night and day—as full well I know you do—how great the work is which you have already done, then assuredly you will never forget how great those are which you are called upon even now to do: for if the province is once in the possession of your opponent (to whom

I myself indeed was always friendly until I saw not only confessedly but even with wanton malice he was waging war against the liberties of his country), I see no hope of salvation yet left. I therefore approach you with the prayer which is offered also by the Senate and people of Rome, that for ever you will set the Republic free from the tyranny of a king, and let the last act of your drama be suited to the first. Yours only is this duty, yours to play the part: from you your country, nay rather the whole world, not only looks for this, but even demands it as a right. And yet since, as I said before, you do not need encouragement I will not attempt it here at any length. That which really is my part I will do—I will promise you my zeal and service, my care and anxious study, in all that shall be seen to concern your name and glory. I trust therefore you will rest fully assured that not only for the welfare of our country, which is dearer to me than life itself, but also that from personal regard, and a desire to see your position yet more raised in honour, I shall on no occasion whatever fail to support your truly excellent policy, your dignity, or your fame.

CXXIV. (AD FAM. XII. 22.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS, GOVERNOR
OF AFRICA.

End of December, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

After the departure of Antonius for Gaul, both consuls being absent from the city, the tribunes convened the Senate for the 20th of December, when Cicero delivered his Third Philippic, proposing to annul the grant of Cisalpine Gaul to Antonius. This was followed immediately by his Fourth Oration, which was addressed to the people with the same object.

Cornificius was now Governor of the Old Province of Africa (compare Letters ciii and cxix). He subsequently resisted the authority of the triumvirs, and was killed in battle.

Abeken, p. 437; Forsyth, p. 484.

We are waging war here against the vilest hired bravo in the world, our own colleague Antonius, but with weapons unfairly

- matched, the tongue against the sword. He positively even makes harangues about you, and that shall not go unpunished, for he shall feel who they are that he has wantonly attacked. I suppose however that you have full accounts about all that has happened from other people; from me you have a right to know what is coming. And of this the forecast
- 2 is truly not difficult: everything is utterly depressed, nor have the good men got any one to lead them, while our Harmodius and Aristogeiton are far away in foreign lands. Pansa is sound at heart, and speaks boldly. Our friend Hirtius is slow in recovering from his illness. As to what will be the result I am entirely at a loss; our one hope however is that at some time or other the people of Rome will show themselves like their ancestors. Assuredly I shall not fail the Republic; and then whatever has befallen me without any fault of mine I shall bear with fortitude. Of this you may be sure, so far as my powers will go: I will be ever watchful of your good name and honours.
- 3 On the 20th of January a fairly full House voted with me, among other important and even vital questions, about the Governors now in possession retaining their provinces, and not resigning them to anybody unless he had been appointed to succeed by an act of the Senate. This course I proposed partly with a view to the interests of the Republic, but principally, I give you my word of honour, of asserting the rights of your position. In the name of our affection therefore I entreat you, in the name of the Commonwealth I exhort you, not to suffer any one to usurp any authority whatever in your province; and to make all things subservient to the claims of your position, than which there can be nothing more illustrious.
- 4 I will be frank with you, as our intimacy gives a right to expect: you would have gained the highest commendations from everybody about Sempronius, if you had only followed the instructions of my letter. But that is over now, and is moreover a comparative trifle, while this is a matter of im-

portance : be sure you keep your province in the power of the Republic. I would write more but that your men are in a hurry, so please make my excuses to our friend Chaerippus.

CXXV. (AD FAM. XI. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO DECIMUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE
GAUL.

January, 711 A.V.O. (43 B.C.)

(See Introduction to Letter cxxiii.)

Your wife Polla has sent me word that I can send to 1
you anything I may wish in the shape of a letter just at the
very time when I have nothing to write about ; everything
being still in suspense on account of our waiting for the
envoys, no news of whose success as yet has reached us.
These things however I thought should be mentioned : first
and foremost, that at Rome the Senate and people are most
anxious about you, not only for the sake of their own safety,
but also of your honourable position ; for somehow there is
a marvellous attraction in your name, and an exceptional
affection for yourself among all your fellow-countrymen ; for
they all hope and trust that as you before set free the Re-
public from the monarch, so you will now from the monarchy.
A conscription is going on at Rome and all over Italy, if 2
indeed this is to be called a conscription, when all are
voluntarily offering themselves ; so strong the fire which has
taken hold of every breast, through our craving for liberty,
and abhorrence of our long term of slavery.

As to all other matters it is we who ought now to expect
a letter from you, what you yourself, what our friend Hirtius,
and what my dear Caesar is doing, both of whose names I
hope in a short time to hear coupled with yours in a common
victory. It only remains for me to add what, since it is about
myself, I expect and prefer that you should learn from others,

that upon no occasion whatever do I fail, or will I ever fail, to support your claims to honour.

CXXVI. (AD FAM. XII. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA.

January, 711 A.V.O. (43 B.C.)

Cassius, who was determined to hold Syria against Dolabella, succeeded in collecting a considerable force, principally by the assistance of Deiotarus, King of Galatia. After the murder of Trebonius (see the following letter) he marched into Syria against Dolabella, who committed suicide on the surrender of Laodicea to Cassius.

It will be noticed that both this and the letter to Trebonius which follows commence with the same revolting metaphor; and it must be remembered that the fate which Cicero afterwards met with he himself desired to inflict on Antonius. The author of these two letters, and of many passages in the *Philippics*, neither had a claim to nor expected any quarter.

Smith's Dict. Biog. iii. p. 1171; Merivale, iii. p. 161; Abeken, p. 466.

1 I could wish that you had asked me to your dinner on the Ides of March: there would then have been nothing left over. Now it is your leavings which are giving me all the trouble, and indeed to me beyond everybody else. It is true we have admirable consuls, but most contemptible ex-consuls; a bold Senate, but bold in proportion to their inferiority of office. Nothing however could be bolder, nothing better, than the spirit of the people, and than Italy as a nation; nothing on the other hand more disgraceful, more utterly infamous, than the embassy of Philippus and Piso; who having been sent to convey certain peremptory instructions of the Senate to Antonius, have gone out of their way to report to us, though he failed to pay obedience to a single one of these conditions, the intolerable terms he seeks to impose; and the consequence is that everybody flocks to me, and in a really sound measure I find myself at last a popular hero.

2 But as to you, what you are doing, what you intend to do, in fact where you are now I do not know. Report says that

you have gone to Syria; nobody in particular is the authority. The reports which reach us about Brutus seem, as he is nearer, to be better established. Dolabella was severely criticised by some of those people who make caustic remarks, for being in such a hurry to become your successor when you had hardly had even your month's grace in Syria¹; it being therefore clear that he had no right to be admitted into Syria. There are great encomiums on you and Brutus, because you are believed to have succeeded in raising an army before we could have hoped for it. I would write more if I knew the whole case and its merits; as it is, my remarks in this letter are written on the general impression and the reports in society. I greedily look for a letter from you. Adieu.

CXXVII. (AD FAM. X. 28.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS TREBONIUS AT SMYRNA.

February, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Trebonius soon after the murder of Caesar assumed the government of Asia Minor. He probably never received this letter, because in this month Dolabella surprised and murdered him at Smyrna, for having sent assistance to Cassius. (See the preceding letter.) He was the first victim among the conspirators, nearly all of whom, it was noticed, died a violent death. His character does not entitle him to any commiseration, but the incident at once changed Cicero's late absurd panegyrics of Dolabella (see Letter cxi) into the equally extravagant abuse of the later Philippics.

Smith's Dict. Biog. iii. p. 1171; i. p. 1059; Merivale, iii. pp. 163-4; Abeken, p. 450; Forsyth, p. 496. Mr. Forsyth here repeats Cicero's wildest exaggerations as if they were history.

How I wish you had invited me to that splendid banquet 1 on the Ides of March! We would have had nothing left over. Whereas it is the leavings with which I now have so much trouble that even your immortal gift to your country

¹ By a law of Sulla a Governor was allowed a month's grace for leaving his province after the arrival of his successor. But Dolabella, remarked these caustic critics, wanted Cassius to begin his month's grace immediately on his arrival.

has something in it to be regretted. In fact there are times when—in me however this is almost sinful—I am disposed to be angry when I think that it was you, one of our good men and true, who took him aside, and that thanks entirely to your kindness this pest is still alive; since to me alone you have left more trouble than to all other people besides myself put together. From the first moment indeed that, after Antonius' disgraceful departure, the Senate could come together freely I brought myself back to the spirit of old days, which you, like your father, the most enthusiastic of
2 patriots, had ever on your lips and in your love. For when the tribunes had convened the Senate for the 20th of December, and were introducing a proposal on another matter, I dealt with the whole question of the position of the Republic in my speech, and urged this point with the utmost vehemence; and more by the force of my enthusiasm than my abilities called back our now drooping and exhausted Senate to its ancient energy and character. This day, together with my own efforts and proposals, has first brought the people of Rome a vision of the recovery of their liberties; nor indeed have I myself since then
3 allowed any interval to elapse without not merely thinking but taking action for the Republic. And but for the fact that the news from town and all that goes on is, I suppose, reported to you, I would myself describe it in full, although I am hampered by engagements of the utmost importance. But such things as these you shall learn from other people; from me only one or two, and those very briefly. We have a Senate that is resolute: ex-consuls in some cases timid, in others ill-affected: in Sulpicius we have had a great loss. Lucius Caesar is on the right side in feeling, but because his nephew is concerned does not favour very rigorous proposals. The consuls are most admirable; Decimus Brutus a noble example; Caesar a youth of singular ability, who will, I myself expect, go on as he has begun. However this at least you may take as certain, that if he had not rapidly enrolled the veterans, and if two legions from the Antonian

forces had not transferred themselves to his standard, and thus been a menace in the path of Antonius, there is no kind of wickedness, no kind of cruelty that Antonius was likely to have left alone. This, although I suppose you have already heard it, I wanted to be confirmed to you. I will write more at length if I find that I have more leisure.

CXXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA.

February, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the 1st of January a critical debate, which lasted for four days, began on the motion of Quintus Fufius Calenus, who was called upon to speak first by the new consuls, that the Senate should despatch an embassy to negotiate with Antonius. Against this proposal Cicero delivered his Fifth Philippic, urging that Antonius should be declared a public enemy. The proposal of Calenus however was adopted, and Servius Sulpicius (the author of the celebrated Letter, No. xcvi), Lucius Piso, and Lucius Philippus were chosen ambassadors, to demand an unconditional submission. Sulpicius, who was in bad health, died before reaching the camp, and the Ninth Philippic is chiefly a tribute to his memory. To Piso and Philippus Antonius replied by exorbitant counter-demands, including the government of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions taken from Decimus Brutus, the ratification of previous grants of land to the soldiers, and a further confirmation of Caesar's memoranda. The envoys returned with this report about the end of January, which excited Cicero's indignation against them (see Letter cxxvi. § 1), and the Eighth Philippic, delivered in February, insists on the necessity of an immediate declaration of war. Early in January Hirtius marched with a few troops northwards, leaving Pansa to collect fresh levies, and Octavianus at once placed his forces at the disposal of the consul. It was evident that if Octavianus could, as Cicero vehemently contended, be trusted, Antonius must soon be crushed.

Meanwhile Marcus Brutus, having been acknowledged by Quintus Hortensius, the out-going Governor of Macedonia, as his legitimate successor, had secured the province, and kept Gaius Antonius, to whom it had been handed over with the consent of the people by his brother Marcus, shut up in Apollonia. The Tenth Philippic, which was delivered early in March, was spoken in opposition to Fufius Calenus, who proposed to deprive Brutus of his command. Cassius had also been successful in Syria, and was now at the head of a powerful force; and as the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella (see the preceding Letter) had not yet occurred, the hopes of Cicero and the

senatorial party were never brighter than at the date of this letter. Everything however depended on the sincerity of Octavianus.

Merivale, iii. pp. 153-162; Abeken, 439-450; Forsyth, 476-491; compare Mr. King's Introductions to the Fifth, Eighth, and Tenth Philippics.

- 1 I suppose the wintry season has made it impossible for us as yet to have certain information about what you are doing, and, above all, where you are; everybody however is saying—the wish, I suppose, being father to the thought—that you are in Syria, with adequate forces, a statement the intrinsic probability of which makes it all the more readily accepted. Our dear friend Brutus at any rate has been winning extraordinary distinction; the exploits he has performed being so important and also so unexpected that, welcome as they are in themselves, their rapid execution makes them even more brilliant. But if you also have a firm hold of all that we credit you with, the cause of the Republic is now set on a powerful basis, seeing that from the nearest coast of Greece as far as Egypt itself we shall be found to be strongly fortified by governments and armies which are in the hands of our best citizens. Yet, if I am not mistaken, the present condition of affairs is such that the ultimate issue of the war must apparently depend entirely upon Decimus Brutus. If once, as we hope, he has succeeded in breaking out from Mutina, it seems that there will be no more war remaining. The blockade is now being carried on by exceedingly few troops because Antonius is
- 2 holding Bononia¹ with a strong garrison. Then at Claterna is our trusty Hirtius, Caesar near Forum Cornelium, both with considerable armies; while Pansa is collecting large forces at Rome by an Italian conscription. Winter has as yet prevented any active operations. Hirtius seems not to intend

¹ Now Bologna; Claterna is (see Dict. Geogr. i. p. 631) almost the only town on the Aemilian Way which has not preserved its existence in modern times; but about ten miles from Bologna towards Brindisi there is a small village called Quaderna; Forum Cornelium, twelve miles further, is the modern Imola; Regium Lepidi is now Reggio, half-way between Modena and Parma.

Ep. CXXIX.] *FROM ASINIUS POLLIO. (AD FAM. X. 31.)* 387

acting at all without careful consideration, as he frequently intimates in his letters to me. With the exception of Bononia, Regium Lepidi, and Parma, we are assured of the whole of Gaul as most zealous in the cause of the Republic; and even your clients, the Transpadanes, we find surprisingly in sympathy with the cause. The Senate is most resolute, but I have to except the ex-consuls, of whom Lucius Caesar alone is resolute and sincere. We have lost a tower of strength by the death of Servius Sulpicius. The rest are partly spiritless, partly untrustworthy; not a few are jealous of the reputation of such people as they see the Republic delights to honour: the unanimity however of the people of Rome and of the whole of Italy is most remarkable. This is pretty much what I felt it would be well that you hear of: I merely add a prayer that from that East which holds you now the light of your great nature may shine out in its strength. Farewell.

CXXIX. (AD FAM. X. 31.)

FROM GAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO, GOVERNOR OF WEST SPAIN,
AT CORDOVA TO CICERO AT ROME.

March 16, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Asinius Pollio, after his narrow escape in the African War (see Letter LXXV), was appointed by Caesar to the government of Further or Western Spain, the capital of which was Corduba (Cordova). Here after the battle of Munda he maintained a doubtful struggle with Sextus Pompeius, who was carrying on a guerilla warfare; but Lepidus, who was then Governor of Eastern Spain and Southern Gaul, came to his assistance, and terms were made with Pompeius. In the present struggle between the Senate and Antonius the attitude of Pollio was one of suspense, and probably conciliatory to both sides until the formation of the triumvirate, to which he at once declared his adhesion.

Three of Pollio's letters to Cicero (Ad Fam. x. 31-33) have been preserved, of which this one is in style and matter a fair specimen. Though not a good general, he was after Varro one of the most learned and cultivated statesmen of his time, in which respect he even deserved the enthusiastic praises of Horace (Odes ii. 1). Tacitus, Quintilian, and Seneca however condemn his style as 'dry,' 'rough,' and 'jerky,' and two or three un-Ciceronian phrases may

be noticed even in this letter; but it must be remembered that, like Caelius and Curio, he belongs to the younger school which revolted from the smooth style of Hortensius and Cicero.

Merivale, iii. p. 162; Abeken, p. 449; Forsyth, p. 492. Compare the remarks of Mommsen, who speaks very highly of Pollio, iv. 2. 610.

1 There is no reason at all for you to be surprised if since an appeal was made to the sword I have not written a word to you on the political crisis; for though the range of Castulo¹, which has always been a bar to our bearers of despatches, is now made more dangerous than ever by the increase of brigandage, still that is far from being so much responsible for the delay as the people who are picketed in every direction on behalf of one or other of the provinces, and who search and detain all bearers of letters. Consequently if a vessel had not brought me letters I should have been entirely ignorant of all that is taking place amongst you. I will now however gladly take the opportunity I have found since the navigation has begun, and write to you as frequently as I possibly can.

2 You have no reason to fear my being influenced by the talk of a man whom, though people do not by any means hate him as richly as he deserves, yet nobody all the same would ever care to set eyes on, because I dislike him so extremely that there is nothing I should not consider it disagreeable to be associated in with him²; and then my nature and habits incline me rather to a longing for peace and freedom. I have therefore often deeply lamented that first beginning of the Civil War;

¹ This range or forest is now the eastern part of the great Sierra Morena. The name is supposed to survive in the modern Cazlona, close to the mining town of Linares, about seventy miles from Cordova. The range was on the borders of the two provinces, and directly in the way of an overland route to Italy.

² The reference is obscure. It may be to Pollio's quaestor, Lucius Cornelius Balbus the younger (see Letter lv. § 4), who was a warm friend of Caesar, and may therefore have been supposed by Cicero to be influencing Pollio in favour of Antonius. It is scarcely possible that the words can apply, as Manutius believes, to Antonius himself.

when however it was not left open to me to be of neither party, because I had great enemies on both sides, I turned my back on the camp in which I knew well enough I should not be safe from the intrigues of an enemy: but driven in a direction in which I was anything but anxious to go, in order that I might not be left amongst the hindmost I may frankly say I marched without shrinking in the face of perils. As to Caesar it is true ³ that I loved him with the utmost reverence and loyalty, because he admitted me, who had only become known to him in the height of his fortune, to the place of one of his oldest friends. In all that was left to me to manage according to my own sentiments I acted so that the best citizens would most decisively applaud my conduct; what I was ordered I did in such way as to let time and manner show that the command was laid on me against my will. Now the utterly unjust odium of this procedure has succeeded in teaching me the lesson how sweet is liberty, how wretched is a life under the rule of a master. If this therefore is the question involved, that everything should again be in the hands of one man, to that man, whoever he is, I throw down my gage; nor is there any kind of danger whatever to escape which I would use either flight or entreaty in a struggle for liberty. But the consuls ⁴ have given me no information, either by a decree of the Senate or by a letter from themselves, as to what I ought to do; indeed, only now when it is past the middle of March have I at length received one letter from Pansa, in which he urges me to write to the Senate that I and my army will be at their disposal; which, seeing that Lepidus was delivering harangues and writing to everybody that he is in full harmony with Antonius, was most inexpedient; for what supplies had I to take my legions against his will through his province? Or even if I had once surmounted the other difficulties, could I fly across the Alps too when they are guarded by his troops? Add to this that despatches could not under any circumstances be safely transmitted, because they are thoroughly scrutinised in hundreds of places; and then even the messengers are detained

- 5 by Lepidus. This at any rate nobody will call in question, that I stated before a public meeting at Cordova, that I would not give up the province to any person whatever, unless he was one who came by the authority of the Senate. As to the Thirtieth legion, why should I tell you what arguments I have had about giving it up? Is there any one who does not see how much weaker I must have been to defend the Republic if I did give it up? I assure you you may believe that nothing braver or more ready for fighting than this legion can be found anywhere. Think of me therefore as a man who is first of all things greedy of peace, for I fully admit that what I desire is that all our fellow-countrymen should be let live; but granting this, one who is quite prepared to insist on his own and his country's claim to liberty.
- 6 It gives me more pleasure than you imagine that you include my dear friend in the number of your own; I begrudge him however his walking and joking with you. How much, do you say, would I give for this privilege? Well, if it shall ever again have been granted us to live in peace you shall put it to the test, for I never mean to stir a step from your side. At one thing I am extremely surprised—that you have not written to me whether by staying in my province or marching with an army into Italy I should be better able to do my duty to the Republic. Though it is safer and less laborious for me to remain where I am, I have nevertheless determined for my own part, as things are at present, to march with an army, because I see that at such a crisis there is far more need of troops than of provinces—particularly such as can be recovered without the slightest trouble. Everything subsequent to this you will learn from the letter I have written to Pansa, of which I herewith send you a copy.

Cordova, March 16.

CXXX. (AD FAM. X. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS,
GOVERNOR OF TRANSALPINE GAUL.

March 20, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Munatius Plancus was made by Caesar Governor of all Transalpine Gaul, except the old province (Narbonne), which was held by Lepidus in conjunction with Eastern Spain. In this very year he founded the great city of Lugdunum (Lyon), which soon became the capital. Plancus, like Pollio and Lepidus, was waiting to see how fortune would turn out, but in a manifesto (Letter cxxxii) he assured the Senate of his loyalty. For his subsequent proceedings, see Letter cxxxix.

Plancus now becomes one of Cicero's most frequent correspondents; Letters cxxx, cxxxiii, and cxlii being addressed to him, cxxxii, cxl, cxlvi, and cxlviii written by him. His character is generally painted in very black colours by historians, but he must have possessed some ability to secure as he did the confidence of both Caesar and Octavianus, and he has the distinction of being addressed in an ode of Horace (l. 7). This letter is written in a stilted, almost bombastic tone, which rather recalls some of the letters of an earlier period.

Merivale, iii. p. 162; Abeken, pp. 449, 457; Forsyth, 500-1.

So far as our good friend Furnius informed us about your dis- 1
position towards the Republic it was an account most welcome
to the Senate, and considered most satisfactory by the people
of Rome, whereas your letter which was read in the House
seemed to be by no means in agreement with the language
of Furnius; for you constituted yourself an adviser of a
peaceful settlement, your illustrious colleague being at that
very time held in siege by the foulest of brigands, whose
duty it is to lay down their arms before they sue for peace, or
else, if they demand it with arms in their hands, that peace
must be the fruit of a victory, not of a compromise. But
what interpretation was put on the letters proposing a peace,
yours as much as that of Lepidus, you will have the oppor-
tunity of learning from your excellent brother, and from
Gaius Furnius. I however, though I never thought you 2
a person who himself lacked prudence, and though the faithful
and friendly counsel of your brother and Furnius would soon

be at your service, have yet been stimulated by affection for you to wish that some advice of mine could reach you, coming with the authority that our many ties of intimacy can give it. Take my word for it therefore, my dear Plancus, that all men will consider the honourable grades of dignity you have attained to—and you indeed have secured the highest prizes—but as so many nominal titles of office, not the distinguishing marks of merit, unless you are found to have enrolled yourself on the side of the liberty of the Roman people and the authority of the Senate. Separate yourself, I entreat you, even at this hour from those with whom you have been united, not by your own judgment, but by the accidental ties of the times. Many there are in these disturbed days of the Republic who have enjoyed the title of Consul, not one of whom is admitted to have been a Consul indeed, but he who has shown that he truly felt himself Consul of the Republic. Of such a character therefore does it behove you to be, as first of all to sever all connection with those disloyal citizens so utterly unlike you; secondly, to constitute yourself a counsellor, a guide, a leader, to the Senate and all good citizens; lastly, to recognise the truth that peace consists not in disarmament but in casting away all dread of arms and of slavery. Let such be your acts and your convictions, and then you will be not merely a Consul, or one who has held that title, but a great Consul, and one to whom that title is great; but do otherwise, and in the very names of the proudest honours you have enjoyed not only will there be no dignity, but the most hideous evidence of disgrace.

Impelled by my regard for you I have written these words with somewhat more than ordinary seriousness, which, if you put them to the test in the only way that is worthy of yourself, you will find to be the words of truth.

March 20.

CXXXI. (AD FAM. X. 27.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS,
GOVERNOR OF EASTERN SPAIN, AND OF THE OLD PROVINCE OF
GAUL.

March 20 (?), 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Lepidus, afterwards the triumvir, was now becoming one of the most important persons in the intricate political game. Holding Eastern Spain and Southern Gaul he was able to keep both Plancus in Transalpine Gaul and Asinius Pollio in Western Spain in check if they attempted to move in favour of the Senate, and his force this year was no less than seven legions, including the famous tenth. He was also Pontifex Maximus, and his son had married the daughter of Antonius, whom therefore he was inclined to support. (See Letter cxxix. § 4.) The Senate, being anxious to conciliate him, had in the previous November voted a public thanksgiving to him for effecting a settlement between Sextus Pompeius and Asinius Pollio (see Introduction to Letter cxxix), followed by another vote for an equestrian statue and a triumph on January 4. But Lepidus, instead of expressing gratitude for this, wrote to the Senate recommending them to make terms with Antonius, which provoked the following letter.

Merivale, iii. p. 165; Abeken, p. 452; Forsyth, p. 502. Compare the Thirteenth Philippic, ch. 4-7.

Seeing that through my warm regard for yourself it is to me a matter of great concern that you should receive the very amplest meed of honour, I was much pained that you omitted to express your obligations to the Senate, after being complimented by that body with the highest distinctions it can bestow. I am glad that you are eager to draw our fellow-countrymen peacefully together: provided you keep this from being confounded with servile submission, you will be consulting the interests of the Republic and of your own high position; but if this 'peace' is only to restore an utterly reckless person to the possession of uncontrollable lordship, let me assure you that all sound-minded men are of that temper which prefers death to slavery. And therefore, in my opinion at any rate, you will be acting more wisely if you decline to mix yourself up with the negotiations you allude to, which

have the approval neither of the Senate nor the people, nor indeed of any good citizen at all. But this you will hear from others, or be informed of by letter: your good judgment will surely lead you to see what is the best thing to be done.

CXXXII. (AD FAM. X. 8.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS, GOVERNOR OF TRANSALPINE GAUL, TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME.

March, 711 A.V.O. (43 B.C.)

TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS AND TRIBUNES; THE SENATE, PEOPLE, AND COMMONS OF ROME.

- 1 Since it is possible that there may be some one who thinks that I have kept the expectations of the people and the hopes of the Republic too long in suspense about my personal feelings, I think I ought perhaps to justify myself to this person before I proceed to make any promises about my duty in the future; because I do not wish it to be thought that I have been making atonement for remissness in the past, instead of choosing at length the fittest moment to enunciate the conclusions I have arrived at after the most truly loyal consideration.
- 2 With me it was far from passing unobserved that amid such great and general anxiety, and in so perturbed a condition of the country, a profession of loyal inclinations was found to reap very substantial fruits, by which method I saw many people secure important distinctions for themselves; but since chance had thrown me into the difficult position of either making hasty professions, and so placing impediments in my own road to success, or else of securing greater opportunities for doing good service if only I had refrained myself in this, I have decided that it is better for the path of our common safety to be made smooth than that of my individual ambition. For who in such a rank as I now hold,

and after such a life as everybody, I may assume, is familiar with in me, and with such hopes as are now all but in my grasp, can possibly either submit to any degradation, or indulge any pernicious desires whatever?

But considerable time, and great exertion, and large expenditure too were, I found, necessary in order to perform those promises I made to the Republic and to all good citizens, and to come attended with resources to the help of my country, not with good-will indeed, but naked of everything. I had to encourage my army, which was frequently tempted with magnificent offers, rather to look for moderate rewards from the nation, than the most boundless ones from an individual citizen. I had to encourage numerous states which in the preceding year had been attached by bounties or concessions of advantages first to regard all these as worthless, and then to entertain the idea of suing for the same from donors possessing a better title. I had moreover to draw out the sympathies of the other people in command of the neighbouring provinces and armies, so that we might rather enter into an alliance of larger numbers to defend our liberty than a coalition of comparatively few to divide a victory deadly to the whole world.

It was necessary however to make ourselves secure by increasing the army, and adding greatly to the number of auxiliaries, so that whenever we were to give open indications of our feelings it might not then be a perilous revelation, however much against the wishes of certain people, what principles we intended to support. Therefore I shall never pretend but that in order to accomplish the due executions of these schemes I counterfeited with reluctance and dissembled with pain; because I saw from what had befallen my colleague¹ how dangerous was a premature declaration from a loyal citizen who was not fully prepared.

¹ Decimus Brutus, who had been nominated by Caesar together with Plancus for the consulship of 42 B.C.

- 5 To this moreover is to be assigned the fact that I entrusted my brave and faithful officer, Gaius Furnius, with fuller instructions also by word of mouth than I put in writing, so that not only might they be conveyed to you with more secrecy, but we ourselves might run less risk; and I have informed him of the measures which would be expedient in order to strengthen the safety of the Republic, and to put us in a state of defence. From which it can be seen that anxiety to defend the Republic to the utmost has with us not only recently been on the watch.
- 6 Now that, with the blessing of Providence, we are in every respect better prepared, we wish that the world should not only hope well of us, but should form its opinion upon indisputable evidence. I have five legions, all in marching order, and not only bound most closely to the cause of the Republic by their own loyalty and bravery, but, owing to our generosity, devoted to their leader; a province which, thanks to the unanimity of all its districts, is in the highest state of preparation, and showing all the eagerness of the keenest rivalry in the pursuit of duty; of cavalry and auxiliary forces as large a number as these nations can ever muster for the defence of their own lives and liberties. As to myself, my resolution is so firmly made that I should not refuse either to protect the interests of the province, or to go where the Republic called me, or to hand over to another my army, my auxiliaries, and my province, or to turn the whole shock of the war upon myself, if only by anything that befell me I could either assure the salvation of my country, or even stave off for awhile its peril.
- 7 If I am now making this pledge at a moment when all difficulties have been smoothed away, and the state of the country is tranquil, even in thus losing credit for myself I shall rejoice at the gain to the Republic; but if I am really stepping forward to share in dangers that are utterly unabated, and of vast magnitude, I commend the policy I have pursued to candid judges to be defended against the

detractions of jealousy. Personally indeed I have sufficient reward of my merit laid up in the well-being of the Commonwealth itself; I am bound however, it seems to me, to ask that those who have been led on by my influence and, in a far greater degree, by the pledges you gave, and could neither be beguiled by any hopes nor terrified by any fears, should be considered by you as commended to your good offices.

CXXXIII. (AD FAM. X. 10.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS IN
TRANSALPINE GAUL.

March 30, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letter cxxx.

Although I had received a tolerable account from our friend 1
Furnius as to what your sympathies were, and what your intentions as regards the Republic, yet after the reading of your letter I formed a clearer opinion about your feelings as a whole. And therefore though the whole fate of the Commonwealth is now being staked on a single battle—which indeed by the time you read these lines will, I think, have been decided—yet even on the rumour which got abroad about your intentions you earned yourself a great reputation; and so if we had had a Consul at Rome, the Senate would, by bestowing high marks of distinction on yourself, have expressed the gratitude we feel for your proposed schemes and your measures of precaution. And indeed the time for this, so far from having gone by, is, in my opinion at any rate, even yet not fully ripe; for that and that alone always seems to me to be a public distinction which is offered [and bestowed] upon illustrious men, not in the hope of services to come, but in recognition of some great merit. Therefore, if only the 2
Commonwealth survive in some form under which it will be possible for distinction to shine forth, our most distinguished honours, believe me, shall be showered upon you; and surely

that which can truly be called honour is no bait to allure for the moment, but the prize of a noble and consistent career.

Do you therefore, my dear Plancus, throw yourself heart and soul into the struggle for glory; come to the assistance of your country, give help to your colleague, join in strengthening that which is the common sentiment, the miraculous unanimity indeed, of all nations. You shall find in me one to assist your plans, to promote your honours, to be in every respect your most faithful and devoted friend; for to the reasons which have linked us together, of affection, of kindnesses, and of habit, our love for the fatherland is added, and this has caused me to regard your life as more precious than my own.

March 30.

CXXXIV. (AD FAM. XII. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA.

April, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Apparently written just before the battle of Mutina, for which see the next Letter. Cassius was now raising a strong force in Syria to oppose Dolabella. Compare Letters cxxvii and cxxxviii.

- 1 What the state of our prospects was at the time when I wrote this letter you will have an opportunity of learning from Gaius Titius Strabo, a worthy gentleman, and one who is most well-disposed towards the Republic; what need is there for me to say also of him that he is most eager to see you, when he has left his home and all that he has, making it his first object to come to you. And therefore in his case I write no letter of recommendation to you: his arrival will in itself to you be a satisfactory recommendation.
- 2 What I wish you to think and let yourself be thoroughly assured of is, that if—which I hope is not the case—anything untoward has once befallen us, then the only refuge that good men have to fly to is to be found in yourself and Brutus. At the time of my writing matters have been brought to the final crisis; for Brutus is now barely able to hold his position at

Mutina. When he has been saved, then we have triumphed; but if—which God forbid!—that fails, all of us have but one road to run, and that is to you two. In view of which do you arm yourself with all the spirit and all the resources of power which are now required to win back the Republic in its integrity. Farewell.

CXXXV. (AD FAM. X. 30.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA AT MUTINA TO CICERO AT
ROME.

April 16, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

This letter gives an account of the battle of Forum Gallorum (a hamlet on the Aemilian road between Bologna and Modena, perhaps the place now called Castelfranco), or, as it is sometimes called, the first battle of Mutina. Victory on the whole declared for the consuls, but the rather indecisive success was more than counterbalanced by the mortal wound received by Pansa, of which he died within a fortnight. The date of the battle is fixed beyond question by this letter to the 15th, though Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 625) assigns it to the 14th. On the receipt of the news it was proposed by Servilius to declare the state of siege ended, and to celebrate a public thanksgiving for the victory. On this occasion Cicero delivered his fourteenth and last Philippic, declaring the former part of the proposal premature, but warmly seconding the latter.

The letter is clear and soldier-like, reminding us, says Mr. Forsyth, of the Duke of Wellington's famous despatch after Waterloo. The author, Servius Sulpicius Galba, was one of the less prominent of Caesar's murderers, and was now in command of the Martian legion. He was great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba.

Merivale, iii. pp. 171-2; Abeken, 458-9; Forsyth, 505-8; compare Mr. King's Introduction to the Fourteenth Philippic.

On the 15th of April, the day on which Pansa was expected 1 in the camp of Hirtius, I was in his company at the time, having marched a hundred miles to meet him and thereby hasten his arrival, when Antonius drew out two of his legions, the second and the thirty-fifth, and two cohorts of Guards, one of which was his own, while the other belonged to Silanus, and some of the reserve; and with this force advanced against us, because he imagined that we had only four legions of raw

- recruits. But Hirtius, in order that we might reach his quarters more safely, had sent us in the night the Martian legion, which I myself used generally to be in command of, 2 and two cohorts of Guards. After Antonius' cavalry had once shown themselves it was impossible to keep either the Martian legion or the Guards in check, and we, since we could not keep them in control, began perforce to follow their lead. Antonius was keeping his main body still at Forum Gallorum, and did not want it to be known that he had any legions; he only showed his cavalry and light squadron. Pansa, seeing that the legion was advancing however he might resist it, then ordered the two legions of recruits to follow him. After we had crossed a narrow strip between the woods and the marsh we formed in line, twelve cohorts in all—the two 3 legions had not yet come. Suddenly Antonius deployed his forces from the village, and charged without waiting. At first the fighting was such that it could not possibly on either side have been more desperately contested, although the right wing where I was with eight cohorts of the Martian legion had in the very first onset routed Antonius' thirty-fifth legion, so that it was some [five hundred] yards in advance of the line [and the spot where it had originally been drawn up]. Consequently, on the cavalry making an attempt to surround our wing, I began to draw back and throw the light-armed troops forward as a shield against the Moorish cavalry, lest they should attack our men in the rear. Meanwhile I find that I am entirely surrounded by troops of Antonius, and that Antonius himself is some little distance behind me. Throwing my shield over my shoulder, I suddenly spurred my horse towards one of the legions of recruits, which was advancing from the camp. On come the Antonians in pursuit; our men are just about to hurl their javelins; so it must have been fate that somehow preserved me, because I was quickly recognised by our friends.
- 4 On the Aemilian road itself, where was the cohort of Caesar's Guards, the struggle was long. The wing more to

the left, which was comparatively weak, and where there were two cohorts of the Martian legion and a cohort of Guards, began to give ground, because they were being surrounded by the cavalry, in which perhaps the chief strength of Antonius lies. After all our lines had effected a retreat I myself began retiring last of all towards the camp. Antonius, who regarded himself as the victor, thought that he could take our camp; when he arrived there he lost many of his men at the place, and yet had no success. Hirtius on hearing of what had occurred took twenty cohorts of veterans, and met Antonius as he was returning to his own quarters; and cutting all his forces to pieces routed them on the same spot where the battle had been fought, at Forum Gallorum. Antonius about 5 ten that night fell back upon his camp near Mutina; Hirtius returned to the camp which had been Pansa's quarters, where he had left the two legions which had been blockaded by Antonius. Thus Antonius has lost the greater portion of his veteran troops; that however could not be without some sacrifice of our own cohorts of the Guards and of the Martian legion. We have carried off from Antonius two legionary eagles and sixty standards. The result is in our favour.

The Camp, April 16.

CXXXVI. (AD FAM. XI. 9.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS AT REGIUM LEPIDI TO CICERO AT ROME.

April 29, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the 27th Hirtius at last succeeded in forcing a second engagement with Antonius, just outside the walls of Mutina. The battle closely resembled the previous one: victory on the whole declared, but not decidedly, against Antonius, while on the other hand Hirtius this time was killed on the field. The next day Pansa also died of his wounds, and the Republic was left nominally as well as really without a head. Antonius now raised the siege of Mutina, and proceeded to cross the Alps in order to join Lepidus. At Vada (now Vado, near Savona) he was joined by his most trusted officer, Publius Ventidius Bassus, with three legions; and he drafted in fresh recruits from the slave-gangs at places on his route. Decimus Brutus now claimed the supreme authority

in the province as its Proconsul, but to this neither Octavianus nor his soldiers would submit. Octavianus therefore was left at Mutina, while Decimus Brutus marched towards the Alps in order, if possible, to intercept Antonius. The first of these two letters is dated from Regium Lepidi, now Reggio, between Parma and Modena; the second from Dertona, now Tortona, about a hundred miles more to the west.

Merivale, iii. pp. 173-181; Abeken, 459-462; Forsyth, 514-520.

- 1 It does not escape you what a blow the Republic has suffered in the loss of Pansa: it is now to be expected of your great influence and foresight that you will take precautions against letting our opponents hope that the consuls being gone they may recover their strength. I myself will use every exertion to prevent Antonius from the possibility of making a stand in Italy; I shall pursue him forthwith: both these points I hope I shall be able to make certain of—that neither shall Ventidius give us the slip, nor shall Antonius stop long in Italy.

Above all I beg that you will send a despatch to Lepidus in order to prevent such a weathercock¹ as he is from having a chance of effecting a junction with Antonius and renewing the war; for as to Asinius Pollio I have no doubt you see plainly what he is proposing to do. The legions of Lepidus and Asinius are both numerous and good, and may be relied
2 on. And my reason for writing this to you now is not at all as if I knew that you had no perception of the same facts as myself, but because I am thoroughly persuaded about Lepidus—if you by any chance have any doubt on the point—that he will never act in a straightforward way. I entreat you to confirm Plancus also in his resolution, who will not, I hope, after Antonius has been defeated fail the Republic. Should Antonius succeed in getting himself across the Alps I propose to station a garrison here, and will send you notice of all my movements.

The Camp, Regium, April 29.

¹ Compare Introduction to Letter cxliv.

CXXXVII. (AD FAM. XI. 10.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS AT DERTONA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 5, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

It is my opinion that the Republic does not owe me a 1 heavier debt than I do to you. You already have convincing evidence that I can be more grateful towards you than those cross-grained people, as you say, are to me; or even if it should appear that these remarks of theirs are only made to suit the times, that I still prefer your judgment to that of the whole crew put into the other scale. For you always frame your judgment about me from an honest and straight-forward feeling which such people as those are hindered from doing by their extraordinary spitefulness and jealousy. Let them interpose to prevent the recognition of my merits, provided they do not interpose to prevent the fitting performance of the charge I have from the Republic; the very dangerous situation of which I will now proceed to explain as briefly as I can.

First of all, you are not unaware what a general confusion 2 of everything in the city is following on the death of the two Consuls, and what a lust of office such a vacancy is forcing upon the minds of people. (I have, I think, indicated as much as can well be entrusted to a letter; because I know who it is I am writing to.)

To return now to Antonius, who, though immediately after 3 his rout he had only a mere handful of unarmed foot-soldiers, has now, it seems, got together a tolerably numerous multitude by breaking up the slave-gangs and snatching eagerly at every species of human being. To this has been added the force of Ventidius, which after making an extremely difficult passage over the Apennines has reached Vada, and effected a junction with Antonius. With Ventidius there is at least a considerable number of veterans and armed soldiers.

4 Antonius' plans must necessarily be as follows: he must either betake himself to Lepidus (if he is welcome there); or keep himself in the Alpine and Apennine district, and by making descents with his cavalry—of which he has a large force—ravage the parts exposed to his descents; or draw off again into Etruria, because that part of Italy is without an army. But if Caesar had been willing to listen to me and to cross the Alps, I would have driven Antonius into such a corner as to make an end of him, more by starvation than by the sword. But Caesar is no more able to submit to orders from others than his army is from Caesar himself: both of which are very bad things.

Things then being as they are, I make no objection, as I said before, to the interference of people so far as it concerns myself personally; but how my present difficulties can be solved, or whether, when you are about to solve them, there will be hindrances put in the way—this I regard with alarm.

5 I am now unable to keep my soldiers. When I came forward to free the Republic I had upwards of £350,000¹. So far is any portion whatever of my estate from being left unencumbered, that I have had now to borrow on the credit of all my friends. At the present time I am providing for the keep of no less than seven legions, with what difficulty you may imagine. It would be impossible, even if I had all Varro's wealth, to bear up against the burden of my expenses.

As soon as ever I have ascertained on good evidence about Antonius I will see that you are informed. I will not ask you to give me your affection except on the condition that you have felt it to be reciprocated.

The Camp, Dertona, May 5.

¹ The reading *coco* would ordinarily mean 'quadringenti,' or 400,000 sesterces = about £3,500, the qualification for equestrian rank; but as this would be far below the probable wealth of Brutus, and as he is evidently speaking of a large sum, Mr. Watson now admits that it must here stand for 'quadringenties,' which is a hundred times that sum, or about £350,000.

CXXXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 12.)

FROM GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 7, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Upon the murder of Trebonius (Letter cxxvii) Cassius proceeded to raise forces against Dolabella, and was soon at the head of a powerful army. The conduct of the war was nevertheless not at first entrusted to him, but to the Consuls; but after the battle of Mutina the Senate was almost forced to give him the authority he had already assumed; and Cassius then besieged Laodicea, where Dolabella was. See Letter cxlvii.

Merivale, iii. p. 165; Abeken, p. 451. Compare Mr. King's Introduction to the Eleventh Philippic, which was delivered in support of the claims of Cassius.

I trust this letter will find you, as I am myself, in good health¹. I have been reading your letter in which I find new proof of your amazing kindness towards me; for it seemed that you were not only my well-wisher,—that you have ever been for the sake of the Republic as much as of myself,—but even to have undertaken a serious burden on my behalf, and to have been intensely anxious about me. And therefore because I imagined that in the first place you would think I could not possibly rest in peace so long as the Republic was trodden under foot, and because in the second place you could not but suspect that I was really making a move—for I imagined your anxiety both about my safety and about the success of my attempt—so soon as the legions which Aulus Allienus had brought up from Egypt were handed over to me I wrote to you, and sent numerous couriers to Rome. I also wrote a letter to the Senate which I gave instructions not to deliver until it had first been read to you—if indeed my people were willing to regard my requests. If however the letter never reached its destination, I make no doubt but that Dolabella, who since his murder of Trebonius has seized Asia in this villainous way, has caught my messengers and intercepted their despatches.

¹ See Letter iii. note 1.

2 I hold all the troops that were in Syria. I had to submit to a little delay, while effecting the fulfilment of the promises I made to the soldiers. Now at last my hands are untied.

I beg of you that you will consider the assertion of my claims to honour as entrusted to your charge, if you perceive that I have never refused my country any sacrifice of personal ease or security; if at your exhortation and on your authority I have taken up arms against these most outrageous brigands; if I have not only raised whole armies to defend the Republic and our liberties, but have even snatched them from the cruellest of tyrants: men who if Dolabella had been the first to secure them would not only after their actual arrival, but even when this was only rumoured or expected, have greatly
3 strengthened the hands of Antonius. For these reasons give your patronage to my soldiers if you see that they have deserved unusually well of the Republic, and let it be seen that no one need regret his obedience to the call of his country rather than to any temptation of plunder and rapine. Give your countenance also, as far as lies in your power, to the recognition of the merits of my generals, Murcus and Crispus; for as to that wretch Bassus¹, he was—characteristically—unwilling to transfer his legion to my authority; so that had not his own soldiers against his wishes sent to treat with me he would have kept the gates of Apamea shut till I had stormed it. These petitions I ask of you not only in the name of the Republic, which to you has always been most dear, but also of the friendship between
4 us, which is, I trust, with you a powerful appeal. This army which I possess is, believe me, the army of the Senate,

¹ Compare Letter ciii. Quintus Caecilius Bassus intrigued against Sextus Julius Caesar, Governor of Syria, whose troops, having murdered him, revolted to Bassus. Marcus Crispus, Governor of Bithynia, and Statius Murcus were then ordered against Bassus, and besieged him in Apamea, one of the strongest towns of Syria. On the arrival of Cassius, Murcus and Crispus submitted to his authority, and the troops of Bassus compelled him reluctantly to do the same. Cassius, in contempt it would seem, from the expressions he uses here, dismissed him unhurt. Merivale, iii. p. 219.

of every truly good citizen, and most of all yours, of whose sympathies they are so continually hearing, that they have a marvellous esteem for you, and to them your name is dear; let them but perceive that their interests are your care, and they will believe that they too now owe everything to you.

P.S.—Since writing this letter I have heard that Dolabella is arrived with his forces in Cilicia: for Cilicia I shall start. What success I have had I will take all pains to let you know with speed. May the good fortune of each of us be according as we deserve of the Republic! Forget neither your own health nor your affection for me.

The Camp, May 5.

CXXXIX. (AD FAM. X. 11.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 10, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Plancus having been summoned by the Senate to Italy moved southwards in April, crossed the Rhone, probably about Vienne, and was on the march to Italy when he heard of the death of the two Consuls at Mutina and the liberation of Decimus Brutus from siege. Hereupon he halted at Cularo on the Isara, over which he threw a bridge, and waited to watch the turn of events. See Letters cxlvi and cxlviii. Cularo was on the right bank of the Isère, near the modern suburb of St. Laurent, opposite to the town of Grenoble, and at the foot of its huge Bastille.

Merivale, iii. p. 181; Abeken, p. 462; Forsyth, p. 522.

My undying thanks to you I give and shall give so long as 1 life remains; as to repayment I cannot affirm: because to such services as yours it seems impossible for me to make any equal return, unless perchance you, as you have promised in such strong and eloquent words, will feel that I shall be truly showing my gratitude whenever hereafter I am keeping you in memory. Had the question been about an honour to your own son, you certainly could not have acted more affectionately in anything. The expression alike of your original opinion, with its lavish distribution of rewards,

your later one which was adapted to the circumstances of the time and the preference of my friends, your persistent and unfailing eloquence on my behalf, your passages of arms in my defence with my detractors—all these are fully known to me. It is no common care I shall have to bestow in order to show myself worthy as a Roman citizen of your praises, and neither forgetful nor ungrateful to you as a friend. For what is yet to come I ask you but to play the part you have made your own, and if but time and my actions shall show you that I am such as you desired to see me, to be my protector and patron.

- 2 After I had crossed the Rhone with my army, and sent my brother on in advance with 3,000 horse, I was myself marching on Mutina when I heard on the road of the battle which had taken place, and of Brutus and Mutina being now free from blockade. I perceived that Antonius and such remnants of his force as are still with him have now no place to betake themselves to except in these parts; and that there are only two hopes before him, one in Lepidus's personal disposition, the other in his army's. Seeing that a certain section of that army is not a whit less lawless than the men who were with Antonius I have recalled my cavalry: I myself have made a halt amongst the Allobroges, so as to be ready for everything just as circumstances might dictate to me. If Antonius in his exposed condition betakes himself hither I can easily, it seems to me, hold up against him as I am, and represent the Republic entirely to your satisfaction, however he may be received by the army of Lepidus: if however he is going to bring something of a force with him, and if it shall appear that the tenth legion of veterans (which thanks to my exertions has been called back again to us with the rest) has returned once more to its old rebelliousness, I shall none the less 'use every exertion to see that we come to no harm¹;' and this I hope I shall be able to

¹ I put this phrase in inverted commas because it is clearly an intentional

put to the proof, if troops can be sent across here from you, effect a junction with us, and so crush the rascals more easily. To this much, my dear Cicero, I pledge myself, that ³ on my part neither spirit nor vigilance shall be wanting. My desire, I give you my word, is to see not a single anxiety still remaining; but if it is there, I will not in your cause yield in zeal, or affection, or endurance to any man. I am indeed using every exertion to spur Lepidus too into participation in this enterprise, and promise unlimited deference to his wishes, if only he will be willing to have some regard for the interests of the Commonwealth. In this matter I am availing myself of the assistance of my brother, together with Late-
rensis and our friend Furnius, to negotiate between us. No sense of injury done to myself shall hinder me from working in harmony even with my bitterest enemy for the preservation of the Republic; but if I find that I have made no advance, yet even so my spirit is none the less ardent, and perhaps with even more credit to myself I shall yet fulfil your expectations of me.

Take care of your health, and grant me my due of our mutual regard.

CXL. (AD FAM. X. 15.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO AT
ROME.

About May 12, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Apparently a postscript sent with the preceding letter.

Since my letter some circumstances have occurred which ¹ it concerned the Republic, as it seemed to me, that you should be made aware of. My assiduity, I have reason to hope, has produced good fruits both for myself and for the

allusion to the celebrated formula by which the Senate in times of danger conferred extraordinary powers upon magistrates.

Commonwealth. The fact is that I have without intermission been negotiating through various people with Lepidus, to induce him to lay aside all feeling of jealousy, and renewing the good-will that there used to be between us to concert harmonious measures for the succour of the Republic; to value himself, his children, and his city more than a single lost and outcast brigand; and, on condition of so doing, command my deference to his wishes for any object he pleased.

2 I have gained my point; and accordingly he has pledged himself to me through Laterensis, who was acting on my behalf, that if he had not been able to keep Antonius out of his province he will now make incessant war upon him. He has asked me to come and join my forces with his; with all the more reason because not only was Antonius said to be strong in the cavalry arm, but such horse as Lepidus had did not even attain to mediocrity; for actually out of his scanty force ten—and they were of his best—not many days before came over to me. When I had ascertained all this I made no delay: I thought Lepidus was a man to be helped on in the

3 way of good counsels. I saw what my arrival was sure to bring about: that either I might pursue Antonius and crush his cavalry with my own, or the presence of my army might correct and hold in check such part of the army of Lepidus as had been tainted and made disloyal to the Republic. And therefore after throwing a bridge in one day over the Isara, a very large river which is on the border of the territory of the Allobroges, I have now—the 12th of May—taken my army across. Having however been advised that Lucius Antonius had been sent on in advance with some cavalry and cohorts, and had arrived at Forum Iulii¹, I sent on the 11th my brother with 4000 horse to meet him: I myself intend to follow by forced marches with four

¹ Now Fréjus, on the Mediterranean, about twenty miles west of Cannes. Mr. Forsyth, with even more than his usual ill-fortune in names, says that Forum Iulii is now called Friaul. Lucius Antonius was the youngest of the three brothers.

light-armed legions and the remainder of the cavalry. If only we find that the star of the Republic has been even moderately favourable to us we shall here at last discover the limits both of the audacity of these abandoned villains and of our own anxieties. If that brigand however, knowing of our arrival beforehand, begins to draw back again towards Italy, it will then be the duty of Brutus, who will not, I well know, be wanting either in courage or in skill, to meet him; nevertheless, if that has turned out to be the case, I shall myself send my brother with the cavalry to follow him, as a protection to Italy against his ravages.

Take care of your health, and forget not your regard for me, knowing that it is fully reciprocated.

CXLl. (AD ATT. X. 34. §§ 1, 2.)

FROM MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS AT THE BRIDGE OF THE
ARGENTEUS TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 22, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Upon the advance of Antonius into Gaul, Lepidus moved southwards, and took up his position near Forum Voconii, now perhaps a place called Vidauban, where was a bridge over the river Argenteus (Argens), about twenty miles from its mouth at Forum Iulii (Fréjus). On the other side of the river was the camp of Antonius, and secret negotiations at the date of this letter were being exchanged between the generals. See Letter cxliv, which is an apology for his treachery to the Senate.

Merivale, iii. p. 181; Forsyth, pp. 520-522.

I trust this letter will find you, as it leaves me, in good health. Hearing that Antonius had sent his brother Lucius on before him with a portion of his cavalry, and was marching with his troops upon my province, I moved my camp from the place where the river¹ falls into the Rhone, and advanced

¹ Several commentators explain this of the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar (Saône) at Lyon. But Lugdunum was in the province of Plancus, not of Lepidus. The river is no doubt the Druentia (Durance), which joins the Rhone at Avignon.

forthwith with my army to meet them. And so by forced march I have arrived at Forum Voconii, and am now encamped beyond the town on the bank of the river Argenteus, opposite to the army of Antonius. He has now been joined by Publius Ventidius with three legions, whose camp lies on the other side of mine; previously to this he had the fifth legion, and a very considerable number of men remaining out of the others, but insufficiently equipped. His cavalry force is large, because they all came out of the action unhurt, so that they number over 5000 horse. A good many both of foot and horse have been deserting from him to me, and day by day his forces are dwindling. Silanus and 2 Culleo have both abandoned him. Serious however as the provocation was which I had received from them, because they had joined Antonius against my express wishes, still for the sake of my character for clemency and our former relations I have not entirely refused to spare their lives; but nevertheless I do not make use of their services or allow them to be in my army, nor have I appointed them to any responsible post. And in all that concerns the present war I shall not fail the Senate and the Commonwealth. What further measures I may have taken you shall hereafter be informed of.

CXLII. (AD FAM. X. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT
CULARO.

May, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letters cxxxix and cxlvi.

1 So soon as ever the opportunity was given me of still further promoting your distinctions I omitted nothing in glorification of you, so far as that consisted in either a substantial reward of your merits, or an honorary recognition of them. This you will be able to perceive from the very form in which the Senate passed the decree, it having been finally drawn up

from my dictation in the way I suggested when I expressed my opinion, to which a crowded house assented with intense enthusiasm and great unanimity. Although from the letter ² you wrote it had been made sufficiently clear to me that you found more pleasure in the deliberate approval of good men than in the externals of glory, I myself nevertheless held that we were bound to take into account, even were you to make no claim at all, how much the Republic owed to you. You will not fail to let your later work be all of a piece with its beginning: for whoever shall have succeeded in getting rid of Marcus Antonius, he it is that will have ended the war; and thus we find that it is not Achilles nor Ajax but Ulysses that Homer has called 'him that taketh a city'.¹

CXLIII. (AD FAM. XI. 23.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS AT EPOREDIA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 25, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the preceding day Decimus Brutus wrote a letter to Cicero (Ad Fam. xi. 20) saying that he had reason, from a conversation with one Segulius Laebo, to fear that both Octavianus and the veterans were seriously incensed against Cicero. This letter is apparently written principally to deprecate any undue alarm at what he had said. The fact nevertheless was probably true.

Decimus Brutus was still marching about in North Italy, and hesitating to cross the Alps. The letter is dated from Eporedia, now Ivrea ², at the entrance of the Val d'Aosta, which commands the passes of Great and Little St. Bernard.

Merivale, iii. p. 182; Abeken, p. 462; Forsyth, p. 527.

All is going on well with us here, and shall go still better, ¹ if my exertions can secure it. Lepidus seems to be disposed to a friendly agreement with us. We are bound to put away

¹ The epithet *πολιόροφος* is applied in Homer to all the great chieftains, but it is curious that *πολιόροφος* (the better reading here) is used only of Odysseus (Od. ix. 504, 534). All that is meant however is a hint to Plancus to strike at Antonius rather with the craft of Ulysses than the open warfare of Achilles.

² Mr. Forsyth of course is wrong with 'Jurea;' but perhaps like Abeken's 'Torea,' this only a misprint.

suspicion entirely, and frankly consult for the good of the Commonwealth. Even if everything were far less in our favour, still with three armies of such size and strength entirely at the service of the Republic, there was good reason for you still to exhibit the fortitude you always have possessed, and can even make greater now that Fortune is declaring herself on our side.

- 2 That which I mentioned in my own handwriting in my last letter is a report of people to intimidate you. Do you only begin to champ the bit, and then may I die if I think that the whole lot of them, however many they are, will be able to look at you if you but open your mouth to speak. I myself propose, as I mentioned to you before, to stay in Italy until I get a letter from you.

Eporedia, May 25.

CXLIV. (AD FAM. X. 35.)

LETTER ADDRESSED BY MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS TO THE
SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME.

May 30, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.).

On the 29th of May, only a week after the letter to Cicero (No. clxi) conveying assurances of his unalterable devotion to the Senate, Lepidus joined his army to that of Antonius, thus giving a fatal blow to the hopes of Cicero and the Senatorial party. According to his own representation in this manifesto, and the account given in Plutarch's life of Antonius, he was unwillingly coerced by his soldiers; but though Lepidus may well have wished to present an appearance of acting under compulsion, his defection had probably been preconcerted, and was rewarded by a place in the Second Triumvirate. Marcus Iuventus Laterensis¹, his second in command, committed suicide on the discovery of the treason. On the 30th of June the Senate voted Lepidus a public enemy, and ordered his statue to be thrown down, but these decrees they were afterwards compelled to cancel.

The character of Lepidus is generally painted in very black colours. In Julius Caesar, act iv. scene 1, Antony describes him as 'a slight unmeritable man, meet to be sent on errands . . . either led or driven as we point the way;' and his rise to be one of the three lords of the world was certainly due mainly

¹ Strangely metamorphosed by Mr. Forsyth (p. 523) into Laterculus.

to the power given him by his enormous wealth; but it is justly remarked in the Dictionary of Biography that the respect with which he was treated by Caesar is probable evidence that he possessed greater talents than he ever exerted.

Merivale, iii. p. 181; Abeken, p. 462; Forsyth, p. 523. Compare Dict. Biogr. ii. p. 768.

MARCUS LEPIDUS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND PONTIFEX
MAXIMUS, TO THE SENATE, THE PEOPLE, AND THE COMMONS
OF ROME.

I trust that all is well with you and yours, as it is with me. 1

I call heaven and earth to witness, Conscript Fathers, on which side my sympathies and convictions with reference to the Republic have ever been; and how I have held to the opinion that no consideration whatever comes before the safety and freedom of the Commonwealth. And of this I should shortly have given you proof, had not chance snatched out of my hands my freedom of acting as I had intended; for my army having unanimously rebelled against my authority and preserved its tradition of sparing fellow-citizens, and living in peace with them all, has forced me—to confess the truth—to constitute myself the protector of the lives and fortunes of so vast a multitude of Roman citizens.

Now in these circumstances, Conscript Fathers, I implore 2 and entreat you to think no more of private resentment, but consult only for the highest welfare of the State, not imputing it to traitorous purposes if I and my army have shown humanity in the midst of civil dissensions; whereas when you have allowed regard for the safety and the honourable position of us all to enter into your calculations, the counsels you take will then be wiser both for yourselves and for the Commonwealth.

Pons Argenteus, May 30.

CXLV. (AD FAM. XI. 13.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS ON THE MARCH TO GAUL TO CICERO
AT ROME.

May or June, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

The first portion of this letter is apparently an answer to some expressions of discontent at Rome that Decimus Brutus had not pursued Antonius sooner; the latter part is written to encourage the Senate owing to the good understanding he had established with Plancus. Decimus Brutus left Italy only when it was too late to prevent the defection of Lepidus, and crossing by the Graian Alps (Little St Bernard) about the 9th of June united his army, consisting of ten legions, mostly however raw recruits, with that of Plancus at Cularo (Grenoble).

The descriptions which Brutus gives of the state of his army in §§ 2 and 5 of this letter seem hardly consistent with one another. Mr. Watson—in a note since amplified in the *Journal of Philology*—suspects that two fragments of letters written at different times have been combined, probably at the place which is marked by asterisks, § 4. In his view the former part of the letter was written between May 11–25, at some place on the march to Eporedia (Ivrea), the latter part about June 7 or 8 from some camp near the Little St. Bernard pass. This view seems to reconcile the difficulties.

See *Journal of Philology*, No. 16; Merivale, iii. p. 182; Abeken, p. 462.

- 1 No more formal acknowledgments of gratitude now: one to whom acts can scarcely make an adequate return cannot from the very nature of the case be satisfactorily repaid with words. I want you to give your close attention to this which is now come upon my hands, for your judgment is too keen to let a single point escape you, when you have carefully read my letter.

The reasons, my dear Cicero, why I could not immediately pursue Antonius were these: I was without cavalry, without baggage-waggons; I was not aware that Hirtius had fallen; I was not inclined to trust to Caesar, before I had met and con-
2 sulted with him. So it was that this day passed. On the next day early I was summoned by Pansa to Bononia: while marching thither I received the news that he was dead. I hurried back to my little corps, for so I may truly call it, it is so terribly

thinned down and fallen on evil days from want of all the necessary supplies. Antonius had two days start of me, making far longer marches in his flight than I in pursuit of him, because he moved straggling everywhere, I in regular order. In whatever direction he went he broke up the slave-gangs, snapped up men, and stopped nowhere till he got to Vada¹. This is a place which I wish you knew: it lies between the Alps and the Apennines, and is extremely ill-suited for the movements of an army. When I was within thirty miles³ of him and after he had been joined by Ventidius, a speech of his to the soldiers was reported to me, in which he began to ask them to follow him across the Alps, on the ground that he had a private understanding with Lepidus. A cry arose pretty generally among the soldiers of Ventidius—for as to his own they are but the merest handful—that they would either conquer or die on the soil of Italy, and they began to petition for a march on Pollentia². Not being able to hold out against them he put off his march till the following day. On receiving⁴ this intelligence I immediately sent on five cohorts in advance to Pollentia, and directed my own march thither. My advanced guard reached Pollentia an hour before Trebellius and his cavalry. * * * I was immensely delighted of course, for on this, in my opinion, victory depends. * * * They had now come to a hopeful state, because they neither thought the four legions of Plancus any match for their forces when all united, nor believed it possible for troops to be brought over from Italy so rapidly. These are the men whose attacks even my Gallic troops and all the cavalry force I had sent on in advance were repelling with tolerable coolness, and now that I am come we are confident they can be repelled even more easily. Nevertheless if by any chance they should really have succeeded in getting them-

¹ Vado, near Savona. See Introduction to Letter cxxxvi.

² Now Pollenza, near Brà, between Turin and Savona. A great battle occurred here in 403 A.D. between Alaric and Stilicho. Gibbon, ch. 30.

selves across the Isara my utmost efforts shall be devoted to seeing that they saddle no ill burden upon the Republic.

5 You and others we would fain have courageous in heart and high in hope in this great crisis, since you see that both we generals and our armies too are joined in exceptional harmony to meet every risk for your sake. But nevertheless you are equally bound not to relax your vigilance at all, and to exert yourselves so that we may be perfectly prepared, not only in respect of troops but in all other requisites, to do battle for your safety against this infamous conspiracy of our foes; who have actually been suddenly turning the very forces which for a long time they were fraudulently collecting in the name of the Republic to imperil the country that gave them birth.

CXLVI. (AD FAM. X. 23.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO AT
ROME.

June 6, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Plancus crossed the Isara on the 24th of May, and marched southwards in the belief that his forces were to be united with Lepidus against Antonius, but on hearing of the defection of Lepidus he recrossed the Isara on June 4, and awaited the arrival of Decimus Brutus, who was expected to join him shortly.

Merivale, iii. p. 182; Abeken, p. 462; Forsyth, pp. 523-4.

1 Never, my dear Cicero, I pledge you my word, shall it repent me of enduring the most terrible risks on behalf of my country if only, should anything hereafter have befallen me. I am acquitted of the grave imputation of heedlessness. If I had ever heartily trusted Lepidus I should be willing to acknowledge that I had made a slip through want of caution, for trustfulness is rather an error than a vice; indeed it insinuates itself into a character of a man with ease in proportion to his excellence; but in my case it was not this defect by which I narrowly escaped being deceived: no, I knew Lepidus perfectly.

What then is the reason? It was sensitiveness—one of the most dangerous of all qualities in war—which forced me to run this risk of failure; for unless I united my position with Lepidus I was afraid it might appear to some one of my detractors that I persisted unduly in my resentment against him, and was by my inactivity even supplying fuel to the war. I therefore advanced with my force till we were ² almost within sight of Lepidus and Antonius, and encamped at the distance of about forty miles from them, with the object of enabling myself either to advance rapidly or retreat in perfect safety. In the choice of a situation too I combined the advantages of having in front a river, so as to secure a delay in their crossing, and close at hand the Vocontii¹, whom I could trust to keep open the road through their country for me. Lepidus despairing of my arrival, which he was longing for to no slight degree, coalesced with Antonius on the 29th of May, and on that very day they commenced marching towards me. When they were still twenty miles away I received intelligence of the fact. I exerted myself, ³ with the help of Providence, at once to retire with all speed, and to see that this retrograde movement had no resemblance at all to a flight; that not a single soldier, horse or foot, or a particle of baggage should be lost, or cut off by that mad crew of brigands. So on the 4th of June I crossed the Isara with all my army, and broke down the bridges I had constructed, that the men might have time for recovering themselves, and I meanwhile might coalesce with my colleague, whom I expect in three days from the date of this letter.

The remarkable zeal and fidelity which our friend Laterensis ⁴ has displayed towards the Republic I shall ever acknowledge, but unquestionably his excessive partiality for Lepidus made him less acute for perceiving these dangers. He indeed on discovering the snare into which he had been led attempted

¹ The Vocontii bordered on the Allobroges to the south. Their country may be taken as about equivalent to the district of which Gap is the centre.

to lay a violent hand upon himself, which might with better reason have wielded a sword to take the life of Lepidus; but it was stayed before it fell, and he still survives, and is, they tell me, likely to live. But of that, it is true, I am not so sure.

- 5 I then have escaped from these traitors to their fatherland, to their unbounded mortification, for they were swooping upon me under the same frenzy which lashes them to fury against their country. And as for their ravings against me they arise from the following recent circumstances: that I had never ceased from applying the goad to Lepidus to make him stamp out the war; that I used to disapprove of the negotiations going on; that I had forbidden the envoys sent by Antonius under a safe-conduct from Lepidus to appear in my presence; and that I had intercepted Gaius Catus Vestinus, a general officer whom Antonius sent to him with secret despatches. And I find this much of pleasure in the fact that undoubtedly in proportion as they were eager to get at me, so much the greater vexation has their disappointment given them.
- 6 Do you then, my dear Cicero, continue, as you have hitherto done, to give us proofs of your unfailing vigilance and energy in seeing that we who stand on the field of battle are furnished with proper supplies. Let Caesar join us with whatever troops are the most to be depended on in his army, or if anything prevents his coming himself—indeed even his personal safety is now greatly imperilled—let his army be sent. Of desperadoes all that ever was sure to be found in the camp opposed to their country's cause is now streaming hither: then why truly should we not use for the salvation of our city all the means we possess? And as for whatever lies in me, if only I find that you at home have not failed me, assuredly I will in every respect richly answer to the expectations of the Republic.
- 7 You indeed, my dear Cicero, are strengthening, I assure you, your hold upon my affections day by day, nor does a day

pass but the benefits you have conferred sharpen still more the edge of my anxiety lest I should lose the smallest particle of either your affection or your esteem. I trust that when we meet again it may be my privilege by the affection I shall show in your service to increase the pleasure you have hitherto felt in doing me acts of kindness.

Cularo, District of the Allobroges, June 6.

CXLVII. (*AD FAM. XII. 10.*)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS AT
LAODICEA.

Early in July, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

This, the latest letter written by Cicero which we possess, is a congratulation to Cassius on his success against Dolabella, and an entreaty to him to come to Italy as the last hope of the Senate after the defection of Lepidus. To the appeal however Cassius did not respond. After the coalition in October of the three great powers, Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus, he met Brutus at Smyrna to concert measures, and in the following year marched into Macedonia, where, being defeated by Antonius and Octavianus in the great battle of Philippi, they both committed suicide.

Merivale, iii. p. 219; Abeken, p. 464.

Your brother-in-law, my once familiar friend, Lepidus, was on 1 the 30th day of June declared a public enemy by an unanimous vote of the Senate, as were all those who shared his treachery to the Republic, though to them it has been left open to return to their right mind before the 1st of September. If it is true that the Senate is resolute, that is mainly in the hope of the support you can give. The war indeed at the time of my writing this is certainly become serious through the villainy and worthlessness of Lepidus.

We daily hear satisfactory news about Dolabella, but as yet without any known source—given without authority, and upon mere rumour. But though this is the case, yet such a con- 2 viction was established in the public mind by the letter you wrote from your camp on the 7th of May that everybody

believed him to be finally crushed, and you to be marching to Italy at the head of an army, that we might either rely upon your counsel and authority, should our present work have been satisfactorily done, or on the strength of your army if, as does happen in war, a false step had by any chance been taken. For this army you may be sure that I will do all that is in my power for providing supplies in every way; the proper opportunity to attain which object will be after it has begun to be known how much strength your army will contribute, or what it has already contributed to the cause of the Republic; for as yet we hear of nothing but endeavours, most meritorious and gallant ones, it is true, but still people look for something really achieved, and this indeed I feel confident has already been done in some degree or is just impending.

3 Than your own bravery and magnanimity can be nothing more splendid, and we therefore hope to see you in Italy as soon as may be; when we have both of you we shall seem to ourselves to have the Republic. We had won a glorious victory had Lepidus only not given shelter to Antonius when he was stripped, unarmed, exiled; and consequently never was Antonius held in such detestation by the public as Lepidus is now; for the former out of a country already embroiled, the latter out of peace and triumph has succeeded in exciting the flames of war. To confront him we look to the consuls-elect, in whom we have confidence indeed, and that in no slight degree, but still not without anxious suspense owing to the uncertainty of

4 the issues of battles. Allow yourself therefore to be thoroughly persuaded that on you and your friend Brutus everything depends; that both of you are being looked for at home, Brutus indeed now at any moment. And though as I trust when you arrive it will be to find all our foes prostrate, still under your direction the Republic shall rise from her ashes, and be established on some satisfactory basis; for there are very many things yet we shall have to repair, even if it shall be shown that the Republic has really been delivered from the iniquity of her enemies. Farewell.

CXLVIII. (AD FAM. X. 24.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO AT
ROME.

July 28, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.).

This letter is of very great interest, not only as being the latest of Cicero's correspondence, but also as having apparently escaped by accident when those which might compromise other people, particularly Octavianus, were destroyed. With the exception of this letter the name of Octavianus does not occur in the correspondence after May, and no letters at all have been preserved of the last four months of Cicero's life. See Abeken, pp. 463, 470; Boissier, *Recherches sur les Lettres de Cicéron*, p. 20.

After the battle of Mutina the Senate unwisely showed their distrust of Octavianus in various ways, such as the refusal of a triumph, and the omission of his name from the Commissioners appointed to distribute lands to the veterans opposed to Antonius. Octavianus was determined to insist on his position at once, and sent a deputation of four hundred soldiers to demand the consulship (see § 6), which was refused. His eight legions then called upon him to march against Rome: the African legions summoned to oppose him deserted to his standard; and nothing was left for it but submission. On the 22nd of September, the day before he was twenty years old, he was elected consul, with his cousin Quintus Pedius as his colleague. The outlawry of Dolabella and Antonius was then revoked, all Caesar's murderers were condemned in their turn, and Octavianus marched to join Antonius.

This sudden change produced immediate results. Pollio at once declared for the allies, and was soon followed by Plancus. Decimus Brutus then finding his position untenable fled to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia, where he was murdered by a Gaulish chief. The three allies, Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus, about the end of October held their celebrated meeting on an island in the river Rhenus, near Bononia (Bologna), at which they constituted themselves a commission of three with absolute power for five years, generally called the Second Triumvirate. This was followed by a proscription of their principal opponents, in which many victims fell, of whom the most illustrious was Cicero himself.

Merivale, iii. pp. 184-217; Abeken, pp. 465-474; Forsyth, pp. 524-537.

I cannot refrain from expressing my sense of your kindness as each manifestation of it and your services to me occurs, but I may solemnly assure you that I do so with a sense of shame; for not only does such a tie of intimacy as you were willing to give me the privilege of enjoying with you

seem to be superior to the need of a formal acknowledgment of thanks, but I too am unwilling to avail myself of the cheap return of words for the very great services you have done me, and prefer to prove to you when we meet, by my respect, my tenderness, my constant devotion, that I am not ungrateful. Yes, if only my life has been spared, in respect, in tenderness, and in devotion to you, I mean to outdo all the gratitude of friendship, nay, even all the tender ties of relationship; for it would not be easy for me to say whether your affection and esteem for me is likely to bring me more daily pleasure or more everlasting honour.

- 2 You have made it your care to look to the interests of my soldiers; whom I wished to see decorated by the Senate, not for the sake of advancing my own power with them, for I know that in my thoughts there is no taint of disloyalty, but because in the first place I was satisfied this was what they had deserved; secondly, in view of whatever might befall us I wanted them to be attached more closely to the cause of the Commonwealth; lastly, it was in order to keep them away from every kind of temptation any one might hold out, and be able to answer to you for their still
- 3 remaining the men they have as yet been. My endeavour hitherto has been to keep everything here as safe as it was. Which policy of mine, though I am well aware how little the public—not unreasonably—is anxious for a triumph which is limited to this¹, I still trust will be approved of by you and your friends; for should any false step have been made with our armies here, the Republic has no large reserves in readiness in order to meet any sudden raid made by these outlaws if they attack their own fatherland. As to the strength of our own force however, that, I imagine, is well known to you. In my own camp there are three legions of veterans, and one of soldiers newly joined (but this is absolutely the finest of them all); in

¹ If the reading '*talis*' is correct, '*quantus*' must mean how *little*, as in Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 81, &c. Mr. Watson mentions a plausible suggestion of H. A. Koch, '*fatalis*' = decisive.

Brutus's camp is one legion of veterans, one of the second year, and eight of recruits: the army therefore as a whole is in respect of numbers very strong, of quality but poor; while we have had proof only too often already how far one ought to trust a recruit under fire². Had either Caesar's army or 4 the African, which is composed of veterans, been added to ours we could with perfect confidence have brought the fate of the Republic to the test of a battle. Since however we both saw that Caesar was considerably the nearer of the two, I have never ceased to urge him by letter, nor has he ever failed to protest that he was coming without delay, while I notice that meanwhile he has turned his back on the thought of this, and betaken himself to other views. I have however sent our trusty Furnius with instructions and despatches to him, in case he should be able by any chance to do some good.

Now you know, my dear Cicero, that as far as a liking for 5 Octavianus goes, you and I agree; whether we say that considering my intimate relations to Caesar in his lifetime it was my duty even then to give him my support and regard, or that he himself, as far as I could ever discover, was of a most courteous and well-balanced disposition, or because after such an exceptional friendship as existed between Caesar and myself it would ill become me not to recognise a youth as his son whom he has adopted into that position upon a deliberate choice, which all of you have duly ratified. But still—I give 6 you my solemn word that whatever I here state to you I do more in a spirit of pain than of resentment—if Antonius is alive at this hour, if Lepidus has joined him, if they both have armies which cannot be despised, if they are full of hope or daring—all this they may put down to the credit of Caesar. Nor will I now re-open what is of earlier date; but going no further back than the time when he was voluntarily professing

² Mr. Watson gives as examples Pharsalus (Mommsen, iv. 2. 415), Thapsus (Mommsen, iv. 2. 434; Merivale, ii. 358); and Forum Gallorum (Letter cxxxv; Merivale, iii. 172).

to me to be coming, if he had but been really willing to come the war would by now have been either stamped out, or driven to their immense disadvantage into Spain, that being the very last place which would favour their side. What leanings or what ultimate views can have drawn him away from this which was true glory—nay was positively essential and profitable for himself—and set his thoughts instead upon a consulship of a couple of months, implying as it does extreme anxiety to everybody, and a most offensive appearance of dictation, I cannot succeed
7 in penetrating. It seems to me that in this matter his nearest relations may now do a great deal, as much in his interest as in that of the Commonwealth; but most of all, in my opinion, may you yourself, whose claims to gratitude on him are such as on no one else with the exception of myself, for never shall I forget that my debts to you are as great as they are numerous. Upon this point I have entrusted to Furnius the duty of negotiating with him. And if it shall prove that with him I have the influence I ought to have, he will find that I have been of the most valuable assistance to himself.

8 Meanwhile our part in the war is made harder, because while we do not think that to hazard a decisive engagement would be very free from risk, we nevertheless shall not allow the possibility by a refusal of a still heavier blow being struck at the Republic. But if we once find that either Caesar has taken a juster view of that in which he is concerned, or the legions from Africa have speedily joined us, we will soon relieve you of all fear in this quarter.

Let me entreat you to continue that regard you have hitherto entertained for me, and believe me ever devotedly yours.

The Camp, July 28.

Here ends Cicero's correspondence; but the remainder of his life may be briefly told by way of conclusion. Cicero and his brother, with whom he was now again on cordial terms, were staying together at his villa at Tusculum when the news of the proscription arrived. Quintus returned to Rome to obtain money for an escape to Macedonia, and was there slain together

with his son. Marcus reached the coast at Astura, where he embarked and might have escaped; but with the irresolution of purpose which had characterised him through life he insisted on returning, to appeal, it is supposed, to Octavianus. The fragment of Livy preserved by Seneca asserts that he even put to sea more than once. At last—it was on the 7th of December—he was overtaken by the assassins sent by Antonius, and murdered, in the neighbourhood of his villa at Formiæ (Mola di Gaeta), displaying then in the face of death that calmness and resolution in which throughout life he had been wanting.

Though Cicero was, as Dean Merivale says, 'of all the characters of antiquity that with which we are most intimately acquainted,' the estimates of him vary to an extraordinary degree; nor is this surprising in the case of a character so complex, and living in times where it is often so difficult to grasp the truth of history. The following modern English works may be mentioned among many others where the subject is discussed in detail as affording material for comparison:—Merivale, iii. pp. 206–213; Forsyth, pp. 548 *ad fin.*; Professor Ramsay in Smith's Dict. Biogr. iii. p. 718; Professor Tyrrell, Introduction to his edition of the Letters; Mr. Pretor, Essay on the character of Cicero prefixed to his edition of Book I. of the Letters to Atticus—a very severe impeachment; Mr. Froude's Life of Caesar; Professor Beesly, Catiline and Clodius; and the various criticisms scattered through the fourth volume of Mommsen, and Dean Merivale's Translation of Abeken, usually sarcastic in the former writer, apologetic in the latter. To these may be added Plutarch's Lives (select ones have been translated by Mr. Long), M. Boissier's very interesting *Cicéron et ses Amis*, and in German the elaborate works of Drumann and Brückner.

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